

A Briefe discourse of Warre.

Written by Sir Roger Williams
Knight; With his opinion concer-
ning some parts of the
Martiall Disci-
pline.



Imprinted at London, by Thomas Orwin,
dwelling in Paternoster Row, ouer a
gainst the Signe of the Checker.

1590.

A
Brief discourse of
Witch.

Written by Sir Roger Williams
Knt. & W. in opinion concern-
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Marshall Dic-
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Printed at London, by Thomas Orwin,
dwelling in Paternoster Row, over a
gainst the Sign of the Black Horse.
1720.



TO THE MOST HONORABLE, my singular and best Lord,

Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, Viscount

Hereford and Bourghchier, Lord Ferrers

of Chartley, Bourghchier and Louayne,

Master of the Queenes Maiesties horse,

and Knight of the most noble

Order of the Garter;

Roger Williams wisheth increase of all

Honor and Vertue.



Most honorable Lord, hauing busied my self more than two yeares in writing sundrie actions that passed in our daies, especiallye the great actions of the Netherlanders since the first arriual of Duke D'alua, yntill the late sieges of Sluce and Bergis, hauing resolved to print and dedicate them vnto your Lordship: diuers occasions perswades me to craue pardon for a time; assuring your Lordship, if health and libertie permits leaue to pre-

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

sent them vnto your selfe in the French
tongue : hoping by those meanes to bee
rightlier indged, than I haue been hether-
vnto. In troth, but for the negligence of a
seruant that lost part of my discourses, I
would not haue printed any thing without
the whole; wherefore I haue taken boldnes
to present your Lordship with some of my
lost papers, humblie desiring you to accept
them as from a Souldier that hath but small
skill in writing or inditing; but could I doo
better, assuredlie it should bee vnto your
selfe, and shall bee in any thing I can per-
forme. Beare with my faults, be assured of
my loue, and command my life, next vn-
to my sacred Soueraigne & deare Coun-
trie.

**Your Lordships most boun-
den to serue:**

Roger Williams.



To all men of warre in generall.



Oble Souldiers of what qualitie soeuer, where I discourse of the vertues and vices that aduanceth and overthroweth all actions, all that hath their honor to lose may claime part of the vertues, neither needs any to be grieved at the vices vntlesse they condemne themselves guiltie; the greatest Captaines of Europe can

Witnesse, that I robbed neither superiour nor companion of his right, much lesse hath been euer my thoughts to wrong any generall action: the which all or the most of you that knowe me will beare witnesse, when my Netherlanders discourses with others, comes out. I thinke Gonsalua was called the last graund Captaine, but I perswade my selfe neither he nor any other before him had neuer carried that name without the seconding of a number of braue companions. The most wor-thiest Caesar although he was highlie ambitious, notwithstanding in his Commentaries written by himselfe, hee imputed part of his honor vnto his Lieftenants and Officers. Wherefore should not others doo at the least the like, being not wor-thie to bee compared vnto the basest sorte of his followers: no honorable mindes can bee free from honorable ambition, but the ambition may be such that the minde be euer so great, if he robbeth the honor of his companions, he wrongs himselfe and im-bater his action. Fewe men of iudgement but knowe it im-possible for one man to conduct an Armie without Officers, & impossible for any state to knowe the worth of their Captaines without being in action with great enemies: but for that triall

To the Reader.

the Parisians, Gauntois, Antwerpian and such, would on-
lie place squadrons in battailes, chuse grounds, march in what
order you would, arme men in good order, fortifie & discourse,
With other matters, to the shew, as though they had been great
masters of Campes: but when they were tried with the furie
of expert executioners, their warres prooued but May-games.
Although I perswade my selfe my discourse to bee unpleasant
With small iudgement: notwithstanding, being perswaded
With honorable good friends, I tooke contrage to print it: true
it is, no action ought to be printed without the consent of sun-
drie Actors, or at the least by one principall. Which ought to
signe his Workes with his name, otherwise wee finde the most
Actors wronged and robbed of the most of their reputation;
some with enuie or malice, others with glorious ambition:
sometimes you haue most honorable good estates wronged
With ambitious follies, libells, the which are hardlie knowne
and found out: but being signed by the author, deserves he
well, the honor is his; if ill, the shame shall be his. Men of
warre ought to be more open hearted, more liberall, and more
affable, than any other profession, although their secrets ought
to be but vnto fewe, their hearts must be open vnto the mul-
titude, and liberall to confesse good deserts as well as with their
purses, although their resolutions be agreed on by two or three,
notwithstanding the more affable they shewe themselves vnto
the multitude, the greater will be their vages and lones. Some
tearme men wise for not speaking many words: true it is, idle
speeches are winde and a disgrace vnto the speaker; but bee
they to good purpose, the more he speakes, the greater is his
praise. To must thinke to repeate great actions, it requires
many words, to perswade the fewe expert companions, to offend
or defend a fewe words will suffice: but to animate or dissuade
the rude multitude, the more words and the oftner the better.
We doe finde the most Conquerours were greatly aduanced
With the orations of their Orators, as well amongst the seruile
lest fore as the rude multitude: Without speeches, the wise can
not be discerned from the foolish, nor without triall of govern-
ment

To the Reader.

ment against equall enemies, the perfects Captaine cannot bee knowne from the most ignorant. Otherwise ignorance will condemne Generalls, their followers and actions let them bee euer so great, although themselves neuer carried places of reputation either in field or towne, nor commanded more than ouer their owne seruants, saying wee haue knowne great Potentates Campes, and Courts. Let no man be so simple to iudge them worthie to condemne great actions or their actors, without being imployed in their great affaires, it is hard for men to gouerne themselves well, harder to gouerne a few; more harder to gouerne many, much more a great multitude; some can gouerne a household, and cannot gouerne a towne; some can gouerne a towne, and not a whole countrie. A man may be sufficient to conduct a priuate companie, and not sufficient to command a Regiment; likewise sufficient for a Colonell, & not for a Generall. But whether it be for policie or Armes, it is an error to thinke men without triall worthie to bee compared vnto the others tried, in what place soeuer great or smal. Diuers play Alexander on the stages, but fewe or none in the field. Our pleasant Tarleton would counterfeite many artes, but he was no bodie out of his mirths. Many hath a vertue, fewe hath many, none haue all: the most men lookes into their fellowes faults, but fewe lookes into their owne; beare with mine, I will beare with thine; loue me, I will loue thee; let vs loue each other, and God will loue vs all: on that condition noble superiours, Roger Williams wisheth to you all honour and happines, and to you companions, no worse than to himselfe. Farewell.

FINIS.

To the Reader.

before against equal enemies, the best Captain cannot be
 chosen from the most ignorant. Obedience is necessary with
 conditions generally, but followers and officers let them be
 true to each other, although the conditions are carried place of re-
 putation either in field or town, not considered more than
 over their own persons, saying they have known great Po-
 tentates, Masters, and Courts. Let no man be so simple as to judge
 them worthy to condemn great actions or their officers,
 without being employed in their great affairs, it is hard for
 men to condemn things which well, but which to condemn a few more
 border to condemn many, which more a great number, some
 can condemn a household, and cannot condemn a town; some
 can condemn a town, and not a whole country. And many say
 the sufficient to condemn a private company, and not sufficient
 to condemn a Kingdom, likewise sufficient for a Country,
 to condemn a Governor. But whether it be for house or town,
 it is an error to think men without trial worthy to be con-
 demned unto the other world, or what place soever great or small.
 Divine play Alexander on the stage, but some we know in this
 world. Our pleasure I at least would condemn in any man,
 but he was not the son of his mother. I think with a certain
 few hath many more than all: the most men look into their
 fellowes faults, but fewe lookes into their own; some with
 mine I will blame with thine; some say, I will blame thee; but we
 blame each other, and God will love us all: on that condition
 noble gentlemen, Roger Williams writes to your honour
 and happiness, and to your companions, no worse than to
 himselfe. Farewell.

FINIS.



EXperience and Learning must
 confesse, all VVarres are maintained
 with these three Principalls.

A good Chiefe;

A good Purse;

And good Justice.



AL consists in the Chiefe:
 where there is a good Chiefe,
 there is good Justice; and a
 braue Chiefe can not want a
 good Purse, if hee bee second
 with his Prince or Estate: if
 their purse faile, a braue Chief
 will force his Enemmes Coun-
 treyes to maintaine his action, having a good quar-
 rel; with the sufferance of the great God.

Is he resolute and valiant? All the rest of his Of-
 ficers and Souldiers will resolute themselves, no cow-
 ard shall be aduanced; taking alwayes care vnto their
 words and deedes: assisting themselves, this resolute
 valiant Man will aduance vs; doo we deserue it: doo
 we ill, his Honor is such, he will not abide vs.

Is he liberall and constant: Then are all that serue
 vnder him sure to receiue their due, rather more than

lesse that come into his hands, & assured to be recompenced for their vigilant paines and trauell, and to be partakers aswell with his honorable acts, as with his liberal Purse: neither backbiter nor flatterer dares call in question the name of a braue man, much lesse none of his familiar acquaintance. If they shuld, then is the other sure to come to his aunswere, and not bee condemned without great faults; as noble Sir Philip Sidney was wont to say, *Let vs loue him for his small vertues, for a number haue none at all.*

Is he couetous & miserable? He careth not what wrong he doth to recouer wealth, cause men to ende their dayes in euery light skirmish, wearie others with wants and discourtesies, keepe the Officers of his Armie in pickes and quarrels, cause them to disgrace one another, lay al the fault on his fellowes, spare neither friend nor foe to recouer wealth: it is vnpossible for such a Chiefe to end any action honorablie: for he respects the least of his bagges, more than his best Captaine; and values his crownes too good for his brauest Souldiers. A multitude are not to be contented, without consuming great treasure; the fight of his gold & departing with his treasure wil cause him to wish all his troupes dead to recouer their dues. In short time he will discredit his Estate and action.

Is he ambitious, in such sort that he thinks none to be valued vnto himself, & that al seruices are done by himselfe: resolving none shalbe aduanced, but such as flatter his humors, enuying all other mens fortune, and vertues? That man careth not what becomes of his State and Action, longer than they maintaine his ambition, against all others, be it right or wrong.

Is he proud and vaine glorious? Al those that serue vnder him, must flatter his favorites to come vnto his speech; when they come, there must be nothing contraried; if they doo, he will tearme them fooles, and his fanotits deuise faults to condemne them, to please his humors, and to maintaine his *Gloria Patri*.

It is almost vnpofsible for anie one to haue all these vertues; or for anie to be free from all these vices. To say troth, Ambition is giuen to men of warre, more than to anie other profession: but let him be assured, whoso euer hath it as I speake of, ouerthroweth anie action, vnles the great God will haue the contrarie.

Somethinke it hard to know these men, because euery man thinketh himselfe valiant and vertuous, or at the least say honest & iust. Their valure must bee iudged by their deeds, not by their words; the rest of their vertues are easier knowen, than theeuers in a ciuill gouernment. Theeuers are tried by God and their countrie, so ought these great Capitaines to be tried by the multitude that serues vnder them; especiallie by their Officers in generall. Their feare cannot stop the rumor of the multitude, nor their bribes content few or none of the Officers, but such as respect neither honour nor vertue, and care not how they come by their fauor and welth, so they haue it.

Dutie, honor & welth, makes men follow the wars: when Generalls rob their inferiors of all three, often it makes honest mindes quit their seruice, & the dishonest to serue their Enemies. None knowes the worth of honest Souldiers, but such as haue been in action with equal Enemies. Those that are most furnished with experimented Capitaines, shall finde it a

losse to lose few; but those that haue but few, shal find it a greater losse to loose anie at all:

How that all Conquests and Ouertrowes consists in expert Souldiers, and euer did since the world began vnto this houer.

Some thinks Commissions & authoritie is sufficient to conduct an Armie, and that Conquests and Ouertrowes consist in multitude: let the Commissions be euer so large, the authoritie euer so great, the multitude euer so manie; the Warres consists altogether in good Chiefs, & experimented Souldiers, & euer did since the world began to this houre. What caused *Alexander* to ouertrow *Darius* with few men, considering his number? but his valorous person, with the experience of his Captaines & Souldiers. What caused *Cesar* to ouertrow *Pompey*, *Romane* to *Romane*, with farre lesser number? because he had old trained Legions, against more than halfe new leuied rawe men.

Our famous Kings *Henric*, the fift and *Edward* the third, gaue their Ouertrowes with few, in respect of their Enimies.

Also *Charles* the fift with a few experimented Souldiers considering the number of the *Germanes*.

How often few or one is the occasion of the winning or loosing of a battaile.

IN our time, did not the Prince of *Conde* giue battel to the French King at the gates of *Paris*, to the Kings losse, to the honor of the small Troupe, being

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ing not halfe a quarter so manie; where *Stewart* a Scottish Gentleman with a dozen Horsmen was one of the principallest occasions, by killing the Constable being their Generall.

At the Battaile of *Mocberhay*, where the worthie Count *Lodowicke* of *Nassau* was ouerthrowne and killed; the Troupes of Spaniards being fearefull to fight, seeing the number of *Lodowickes* Horsmen, were onlie encouraged to charge resolutelie, by the Oration of *Sentia de vela*.

The shamefull Ouerthrow at *Iubeleo*, where lesse than 600. Horsmen of *Don Iohn de Austria*, ouerthrew 15000. against reason, onelie for want of Chiefes to keepe order. The occasion of this charge came through a Captaine of Horsmen, which discovered their disorder of March, and procured the rest to followe, desiring leaue of *Octavia Gonzaga* his Generall, to charge.

At *Northorne* in *Freezeland*, two or three cowardlie captaines were the cause of the ouerthrow of our Battaile with discouraging words, the Enemies horsmen and vangard being broken.

The mutenous *Gauntroys* & *Iper*, did they not giue battaile in our fathers daies vnto a French King, and their Earle of *Flanders*; and did not this Prince of *Parma* with lesse than 8000. men conquer them like slanes? onelie because they were void of Chiefes, vnexpert for warres, their braue warlike mindes changed vnto mechanickes.

Also the proud Towne of *Antwerpe*, which was left in good guard and discipline by the late famous Prince of *Orange* hauing in it better than 16000. as

well armed and in as good order as anie Garrison in *Europe*, furnished plentifully with artillerie, munition, and all necessaries for warres; for want of Chiefes to direct them, this Prince of *Parma* made them slaues, with lesse than 8000. men.

The difference betwixt rawe men, and expert Souldiers.

WHat is a multitude without Chiefes, but bodies without heads: Nations must not flatter themselves what they haue beene, but what they are. The *Grecians*, & the *Macedonians* had the Monarchie, so had the *Romaines*, with others; what are they now? the people wanting their Chiefs, and their accustomed braue mindes. All these actions with the rest that haue been aforetime or in our daies, were executed by the lesler numbers; and the praise of euerie seuerall action, belonging vnto lesse than a dozen Chiefes. It is an errour to thinke that experimented Souldiers are sodeinly made like glasses, in blowing them with a puffle out of an iron instrument. There can be no Leaders of good conduct, vnles they haue been in foughten Battailles, assieged and defended Townes of warre, the longer experted, the more perfected. The Duke of *Alua* was wont to say. In lesing of 100000 in 10. yeares action, there prooues not 20. famous Leaders. To conclude; a multitude without experimented Leaders, that haue to warre with expert Captaines, are to bee compared vnto a Naue in a Tempest, without Masters or Pilots.

One noble opinion of Mounſieur de La Nowe.

THe famous *Mounſieur de La Nowe* was wont to ſay, It was neceſſary for the greateſt Commanders, to giue eare often vnto all their vnder officers, I meane their ſimpleſt Captaines, to heare their opinions, concerning their diſcipline in open audience. His meaning was noble without ambition: for in all Armies, there are a number of Captaines better Souldiers, than manie higher Officers; which can neuer be knowne without place to execute their art: which muſt be in action and audience before famous Superiours. Theſe liberties & curteſies make a number employ their wits and valours daily to aduance their credites. It hinders no great Officers, vnleſſe they meane the warres ſhould end with themſelues; it aduanceth the Warres, and Actions, when they are gone, other experted knowne men are placed in their roomes. This order muſt maintaine good diſcipline, otherwiſe ignorance happens often into the high places, vnknowne, vntill actions bee ouerthrowen. Thoſe will ſay, wee are expert and as valiant as the others; let them ſay and bee what they liſt, vnles they be knowne to be expert of action, it is not neceſſarie for a State to hazard their action in trying their experience, and vnknowne fortunes. What corrupted the diſcipline of Netherlanders? chieflie placing their ignorant couſins and favorites to command. Who could haue won *Gaunt, Antwerp, Bridges, Iper*, with an 100. other towns, that wanted no neceſſaries for warres, if there had been expert Commanders in them.

Theſe

These strong places were lost shamefullie without blowes, with twentie ouerthrowes in the field, with the like disorders. Therefore this noble *Le Nove* would say alwaies, *Checune a son mety*; as much to say, Euerie man ought to haue place according to his art. The martiall *Byron* would say also, These Coronells of three dayes, marres all the Armies of the world. Notwithstanding, it must be confest, that some quick spirites proue to bee expert with small actions: but so rarelie found, that it is dangerous to giue them charge before they be well knowne.

What makes the Spaniards discipline to be so famous as it is? their good order: otherwise it is well knowne, the Nation is the basest and cowardlie sort of people of most others; so base, that I perswade my selfe, ten thousand of our Nation, would beate thirtie of theirs out of the field, let them be chosen where they list; sauing some three thousand which is in the Lowe Countries. And those, for all they bee conducted by ancient expert Captaines, accompanied with other Nations, nothing inferiour to those Spaniards, both for valour and conduct; notwithstanding, the trained Troupes of our Nation did beate them alwaies number to number, both in Generall *Norris* his time, & sithence. In their Countreyes the world dooth knowe five thousand of our Nation made guards at the gates of *Lisborne* foure dayes; although there were in the Towne five thousand Spaniards, foure thousand Portugeses carrying armes, besides they were assured of all the Burgeses, for they had sent into *Spaine*, & kept in the Cyradell, their wiues, children, and chiefest goods. Also by reason of our
Armie,

Armie staying in *Galicia*, where 6000. of ours ouer-
threw 16000. of theirs. Before we arriued at *Lisborn*,
they had 20. daies respit to arme and put themselues
in order; but had our Armie not touched at the *Groin*,
& sailed streight to *Lisborne*, as the Earle of *Essex* did,
neither Soldier nor Captain can deny, but the towne
had been ours; for it was vnmanned, without anie
good order: & when we arriued, had our Nauie en-
tered, we would haue entred the Towne, or the world
should haue witnessed, so manie Englishmen had bin
buried in that place. But let all the Captaines of *Eu-
rope* iudge rightlie of our proceedings from the first
to the last, considering our smal meanes & great crof-
ses, they cannot denie, but both our valor & gouern-
ment, deserued an 100. times more praise, than the at-
tempt of Duke *Medina*, and his on *England*: notwith-
standing they wanted neither men, victuals, munition,
nor money. Also the world knowes, we were not set
out with our Souereignes royal Forces; notwithstan-
ding we gaue them the law 30. daies in their Coun-
tries. When sicknesse with other wants forced vs to
imbarke, being followed with their Armie, wee re-
turned towards them with lesse than 4000. Where
the Earle of *Essex* sent his Trumpet, to dare their Ge-
nerall the Countie of *Fuentes*, to find himselfe in the
head of his troups, to change the blowes of the pikes,
giuing him signall of his attire and feathers: so did
Generall *Norris* command the Trumpet to tell them
our small number, and to dare their whole Forces to
battaile: but the cowardlie besonions perceiuing our
resolution, before we could arriue within 3. miles of
them, all their footmen ran away to *Lisborne*, being 3.

for one. *Fuentes* with *Don Gabriel de Ninis* knowing we had vnder fiftie horsmen, staid where they were incamped, hauing with them at the least 600. horsmen: notwithstanding, the alarme beeing giuen vs, the Earle, and Generall *Norris*, with the most of the Chiefes, giuing order to our Squadrons to keepe in that order we marched, and to march with all speede to recouer the top of a hill, a fine place to giue battell, assigned vnto them by the Trumpet, within halfe a league of their quarter. The Earle, General, & Chiefes with the horsmen, aduanced with speed to the top of the hill, both to discover the Enemies order, and to choose a commodious place to fight. At their sight, wee perswaded our selues by their fashion to receiue battaile, our ensignes being displaid on the top of the hil, and our Squadrons possessing the ground that we thought most fit: after resting a while, and perceiuing their cowardlie resolution, aduanced our battaile towards their quarter, vnknowne to vs but that al their Forces had been in that village. At our approach, they ran away in such sort, that our horsmen (being but 50 in al, amongst whom were diuers of our Chiefes, besides the Earle and his brother) made two hundred of them runne awaye that they kept in the Reregard. This prooue with diuers others, had wee on them in our *Portingall* voyage.

But to speake troth, no Armiethat euer I saw, passes that of *Duke de Parma* for discipline & good order: the which & it pleased others to follow, it were not amisse. And to that ende I thought good to show some part of the discipline and orders amongst them. None comes to be high Officers, vnles they be kno-

wen to bee expert and tried Souldiers of action, of long continuance; or for courtesie to grace their Armies with young Princes, or Nobilitie, or at the least Gentlemen of good qualitie; neither must these command the basest Master of their Campe. For all their birth, they must be knowne valiant, and of good discretion. These Noble men are placed Generalls of horsemen, or command a Cornet; but they will be sure to look, that their vnder Officers shall be expert and knowne men; they shall not choose their owne favorites & followers: which maketh them to maintein the like discipline, when they come to be expert themselves: for without doubt, none can command so well, as those which haue been commanded.

Their State is gouerned with two sorts of people, Captaine and Clergie. As the Captaines ambition perswades the King to encrease his warres, to maintaine their estate in wealth and greatnes, so doth the Clergie perswade him also to warres, to maintein their State, against them of Religion. By this meanes the State of *Spain* during this gouernment can neuer be without warres, and continuall warres must make expert Souldiers.

The long continuance of their

Armie.

THis Armie of the Prince of *Parma* hath beene in action vnbroken, since *Charles* the fift his troubles against the *Germanes*. They haue continued in the Lowe Countreyes three and twentie yeares.

When the Duke *D'alua* brought them thither, hee found them readie disciplined in Regiments, vnder Ensignes & Cornets, although the Gouvernors, Captaines and Soldiers, were changed with casualties of warres: notwithstanding the Armie was continually maintained with one purse & discipline from the first houre vnto this, which must be about 50. yeares. For that time, wee must confesse, none had the scholl of warres continually, but themselves. Their actions shewes their discipline, which were not amisse for others to followe. Their order is, where the Warres are present, to supplie their Regiments being in Action, with the Garrisons out of all his Dominions and Prouinces: before they dislodge, *besonios* supply their places, raw men, as we tearme them. By these meanes he traines his *besonios*, and furnisheth his Armie with trained Souldiers: yet though these Garrison men be well trained Soldiers, God knowes they are but raw men for a long time, in respect of the men of Action: then iudge you, what difference there is betwixt expert Souldiers and raw. In my poore iudgement, (as I shewed before) all their discipline consists in the Spanish. They maintaine also certaine companies of ordinances, chieflie to content the Nobilitie, as I will shew hereafter: they keep in good order their *Caualleri*, *Italians*, *Burgonians* and *Albanetes*, for their great numbers I meane, to supplie their Armies, as occasion presents. They make most account of the *Wallons*, *Burgonians* & *Italians*: for the *Almaines* they care not, but will hire them onelie to serue their turne, when their Enemies leaue *Germanes* against them. They haue great reason; for as long as any Prince or Estate

keeps

keepe continuallie 7000. expert footmen, and 3000. horsemen, though his leuied Armie be 50000. the ten thousand will both discipline them, & keepe them in order: for out of the 10000. he may draw continuallie a 100. or two experimented Souldiers to make Officers, to traine the others. Besides hee places diuers great Officers out of his assured 10000. amongst his mercenaries, in the which he shewes great disciplines, for there can bee no dangerous mutenie in anie Armie, vnles some of the Chiefes be priuie vnto it; and easilie preuented if it be discovered; & cannot be but discovered by reason of this good order.

How they diuide their Armies.

They diuide their Armies into Regiments. All the Spanish Colonells are tearmed, Masters of the Campe. Although all their Armie be diuided into Regiments, be they neuer so many colonels, there are none tearmed *M. del Campo*, but the Spanish. Although there are but foure *Tertias* Spanish, which are called *de la Lyge*, *de Lumbardy*, *de Naples*, & *de Flandrie*; to grace the Spanish, they giue often the name of *M. del Campo* vnto others, but neuer aboue sixe at a time, the which must bee famous. *Mondragon* being Colonell of the *Wallons* afore *Serexe*, for his famous seruice was called *M. del Campo*, so was *Ionas Oria*, hauing no Regiment, for his famous seruice at *Malta* and in other places.

These foure *Tertias*, when they are most, are scarce 6000. strong, they make vp their 10000. I named before with *Burgomians*, *Italians* & *Wallons*. One of these

Tertia, when the Duke of *Alua* came downe, was called *Tertia de Sardinia*. For their disorder, the Duke executed their Captaines in *Amsterdam*, in *Holland*, calld the *Tertia*, entertaining the Souldiers a newe. To keepe the honour of the brave Souldiers, they termed this *Tertia*, *Tertia Vesca*, to giue example vnto others. It is necessarie to remember this discipline, with other, executed by the Duke of *Alua*. This *Tertia* of *Sardinia* had to their Colonell a valiant Captaine, named *Don Gonsalo de Drake mont*, beeing commanded to *Frisland*, against *Lodowicke* the worthie Count of *Nassau*, brother to the famous Prince of *Orange*: to stop his course, Duke d' *Alua* sent Sir *Iohn de Lam*, Count de *Aranberge* Chief, with other troupes of horse and foote. Besides this *Tertia* being approached, Count *Lodowicke* vnderstanding his strength, *Aranberge* would haue staied where hee was, vntill the arrivall of the Count de *Meegen*, the which would haue ioyned with him that night with more forces. The ambition of this Colonell and Captaines was such, they forced Count *Aranberge* with vrging words touching his reputation and credite, both to approach and charge some of *Lodowicks* troupes, the which brought them into an Ambush where *Lodowicke* was: who defeated them in route, leaving Count de *Aranberge* dead in the place, with diuers other Chieffes. At their returne Duke d' *Alua* rewarded them, as I shewed you before.

Another time a great Regiment of *Almaine* mutined for want of pay: in their outrage they spoyled Count *Laderne*, their owne Colonell. Duke d' *Alua* called them into a field, both to be mustred and to re-

ceiue

ceiue their payes, Into this place he commanded also
all his Cavalerie with other footmen to come. The
mutinous Regiment being viewed with Commissa-
ries, he placed the horsemen in Squadrons round a-
bout them, commaunding them to charge them like
enemies, vnles they would deliuer the mutiners into
his hands. The poore *Almaines* seeing themselves
deceiued, fearing the furie of the horsemen, deliuered
vnto him all that hee demaunded: To reuenge their
mutinie, and to maintaine discipline, he executed of
them 200. Since that time wee cannot learne that the
Almaines mutined in the *Spanish* Armie. *To punish*
their great Officers in order as they *command.*

IN the absence of the Captaine Generall, the high
Marshal or master of the Campe general command-
eth all. After him, the Generall of the horsemen;
after him, the Generall of the Artillerie; After him,
the eldest Master of the Campe: hee vnto the Ma-
sters del Campo, the Lieftenant generall of the horse-
men; after him, the Lieftenant of the Artillerie. These
Officers direct the field; for the rest of the Colonells
and Officers, none meddle further than his owne
particular charge; vnlesse they be authorized. Al-
though the Threasurer at warres be an honorable
place commanded by no bodie, but by the Captaine
generall, hee nor none of the others meddle with the
Martiall discipline; I meane the Auditories, Comis-
saries, Muster masters, & such. Touching the charge
and dueties of the Captaine Generall, and the other
great Captaines, I referre it vnto the famous warriors
which wrote it often before.

*What other Officers ought to second their
great Officers.*

THe office of the Marshall, is painfull and great, for he medleth with the whole affaires of the warres; he hath to serue and to helpe him, the Sericant maior, Quarter masters, Prouosts, & Capitaine of the Spions.

The General of the horsemen hath to serue him, his Lieftenant, Colonels, Captaines, and Scoutmasters.

The Generall of the Artillerie, his Lieftenant, Commissaries of munitions, Gentlemen of the Artillerie, Colonell of Pioners, Trench-masters, and Carriage-masters.

The Treasurer is chiefe of all the others: hee, the Auditor, Muster-masters, Commissaries aswell for musters, as for victualls, deliuer their accounts onelie vnto the Capitaine generall, or to his Deputie authorised by him for the vse of the King. There is also one Secretarie authorised by the King, who lookes into all their dealings, and knowes all the secret onlie that passeth betwixt the King & the Captain general.

This Secretarie hath alwaies diuers blankes signed by the King. With those blanks they haue redressed sodainlie many disorders which could not haue bin done, if they had been forced to stay to knowe the Kings pleasure.

*The greatnes of their Generall, and Obeysance
vnto his King.*

ALthough the General hath his commission absolute from the King, to alter, to redresse place, & to displace

displace whome hee lifts, as occasion preuents: Notwithstanding he doth nothing, without the aduise & consent of his counsaile of warre, if hee should, he is sure to be despised and contemned, not onely by his counsaile of warre, but by his whole Armie in generall; who will not faile to appeale vnto the King, and Estate of *Spaine*, which redresseth presentlie anie disorders. For sodain dispatches, the King hath his counsaile of warre seuerallie for tuerie of his Kingdomes and Prouinces, where he hath occasion to vse Vice-royes or Captaine Generalls. All these Counsailes of warres both in *Spaine* and abroad, are expert & principall Captaines, sauing a few Diuines and Ciuilians ioyned with them, to aduise and redresse their high mindes and ambition; the which is done easier and better by wise perswasions, than by extreame iustice: for if iustice were executed to the vttermost, fewe great Captains should liue. The most great Captaines cannot denie, but their profession ouer-reacheth themselves, more than any other, because al their speaches, deedes, and mindes consists in ambition for honour, seeking to ouerthrow al estates, to aduance their own, weighing no perill in respect of fame.

I speake this for Captaines in generall: but there are honest, vertuous, & iust, yet so few that the number must bee imbraced, els the multitude of the enemies would bee too to manie for the fewe friends. If a Captaine be a good counsellor in warre, a good executioner, or a good engioner, he ought to be imbraced, and as noble Sir *Philip Sidney* said, borne withall, vnlesse his faults are too intollerable.

How they diuide their Horfemen.

They diuide their Caualerie into an 100. vnder a Cornet. Vnles it be their two Generalls, the most of the aduantagers and aduenturers march vnder the high Generall, so doo all his domestiques. When he is in person in the field, his Cornet is alwaies foure or five hundred; they giue seuerall commissions vnto Launtiers, and to the Hargulatiers, to five hundred Launtiers they ioine 100. Hargulatiers, they keepe that rate from the lesser number vnto the greatest. These Launtiers are called light horsemen; notwithstanding they are as wel mounted as the men at armes for one horse a peece, and as well armed, sauing the barbe for their greues and maces: the most carrie one pistoll, but al carrie a curtilace, I meane a good broad sword. Their Hargulatiers are also well mounted for a horse a peece, more than half curaces of the prooffe with an open burgonet, on *Mailaine* morrions: many haue pistols besides their peeces; but al haue good curtilaces. Both Launtiers and Hargulatiers haue all cassockes, euerie Companie seuerall colours to bee knowne.

The diuisions of their foote Bands.

THeir commissions for foote Bands are like vnto ours, some Ensignes 300. some 200. the most of an 150. Every hundred hath fortie armed men, of which there must be thirtie pikes, the 10. others, are halberds and targets of the prooffe; al their Gentlemen & van-
tagers

tagers are armed men, the most carrie the pike, ha-
 uing platerons of the prooffe, I mean the fore part of
 the armour, the 60. others are shot. In the latter daies
 of Duke *D. alua* 2/3. of euerie hundred, were comma-
 ded to be Muskettiers. With their armed pikes and
 muskettiers, they execute most of their seruices. They
 found such seruice in the musket, that this Prince of
Parma hath the most of his shot muskettiers.

The order of their marching.

WHen the Armie marcheth, one commaunds
 the vangard, another the battaile, the third
 the rereward. None of these, nor of the Of-
 ficers appoynted with them, whatsoeuer occasiō pre-
 senteth, although their fellowes were in fight, dares
 break out of his place, to offer to fight, without com-
 mandement from the Principall. If the Generall bee
 in person, he is knowne by a signall, like vnto a Cor-
 net, which is carried hard by him. As he sends often
 to know the State of his Armie in all the quarters, so
 doo they send others vnto him, as occasion presents,
 both to acquaint him of their Estate, & to knowe his
 direction. To giue equal honor vnto al their troupes,
 they alter their marches euerie seuerall march. Hee
 that had the vangard to day, to morow is to haue the
 rereward, the third the battaile. When occasion pre-
 sents to diuide their Armie into seuerall parts to doo
 some employtes in surprising some Towne, Castle,
 Fortresse, or other to giue camifadoes, or reincoun-
 ter troupes, either at their lodgings, or in their march,
 they send two of qualitie, according to the number

of the Troupes that go, the one commands the horsemen, the other the footmen; but one is obeyed chiefe, in as ample authoritie, as the Captaine generall himselfe, vntill they retorne into their Armie. They haue great reason; for it is impossible for two Chieffes to agree, hauing equall authoritie.

The order of their Sieges.

WHen they assiege any place, they incampe at the first out of the danger of the enemies Artillerie: before they make any approaches, they do what they can to make sure either with Forts or Trenches all the passages, I meane the coming in as well to their Campe, as to the Towne or place assieged. If there be any riuer or passage by water, they will bee sure to stop it with Forts, Artillerie, Stockathos, Pallisathos. If they can make a bridge to passe ouer horse and foote, with all necessaries from one side vnto the other: if they can they will not faile to make waies round about the place assieged to march with horse and foote. If there be any passages strong by nature, streights through woods, hills, or with waters, although it bee a dozen miles from their Campe, they will build strong Forts, sufficient with a small guard to abide the furie of an Armie without batterie, At one of these places will they giue battaile, rather than leaue their siege, if the partie be to their aduantage by this means they will be sure to haue fortie houres libertie to resolute, whether they will fight or retire; as they did at *Muncier*, at *Cambria*, and at other places. Count *Lodowicke* being

in Mounce, well accompanied, especiallie with good Chiefes; for he had with him the famous Captaines *Mounsier de la Noue*, *Mounsier de Poier*, *Mounsier de Roueres*. Norwithstanding, Duke d'Alua intrenched his Armie before it so stronglie, that he was able to send out halfe his men to do exploités where it pleased him. When the Prince of Orange incamped hard by him with equall forces, he neuer stirred his Armie, by reason of his trained Souldiers, vndid him with a Camisado, forced him to retire. So did he also send *Chappine Vitelly* out of his Armie, with sufficient forces into the streight towards *Valentia*, who defeated *Mounsier Iohn de Lise*, which marched to the succours of Mounce with 7000. Frenchmen. Also at *Cambria* this Prince of *Parma* abided the Armie of *Mounsier de Lanson* to come in sight, although he resolved to retire, sending his Artillerie, munition and baggage out of danger: he staid to see the order of his march, seeing the partie vnequall who marched in good order, he retired orderlie without ingageing any fight. If they thinke the place assieged too well manned, or the scate such by nature, that batterie can doo no good, they will blocke it vp with Fortes in such sort, that halfe their Armie will be sufficient to assiege it, they will be sure to place the rest in the best quarters for victualls and forage, although it be three daies iourney from the place assieged: as they did at *Antwerpe*, *Gant*, *Iper*, *Berke*, & other places. By these meanes they relieue their wearied troupes with fresh at their pleasures. If there be troupes making head to leaue their siege, they will ioine closer together, as occasions present: if they batter, they approach care-

fullie with trenches a farre off, spare neither Pioners nor cost to saue their Soldiers, Before they place their Batterie, they mount Culuerings, and other peeces to beate the flankes and defences: if there bee not high grounds aduantageous to doo it, they will bee sure whatsoeuer it cost, to raise mounts for the purpose. If the Bulwarkes be such that the flankes cannot bee taken away with their peeces, they will lay batterie at once both to Bulwarke and Curten; for the Soldiers may lawfullie refuse to assault vntill the flankes be taken away: neither will the Chiefes offer it; for some of them must leade them.

The order of their Assaults

BEing readie to assault, to giue equall honour vnto all the troupes, the Regiments hurle the Dice who shall haue the poynt, the first charge we call it: lightlie the Chiefe, that commanded that quarter will aske it as his right, because his troupes are most spoyled by reason of their neere guards and approaches. Most often he hath it: being giuen him, he deuises his troupes to second one the other, according to the widenes of the breach; they respect the honor of the poynt, that the Captaines will not giue place one vnto the other more than their Colonells, but by fortune of the Dice. They need not bee so earnest for the matter, because the greatest warriors accompt the first troupe that entreteth a breach in more danger, than the first troupe that must charge in their seuerall battailes. They haue reason; for I knowe it by good experience, whether they enter or retire the most of them

them are killed; if the defenders bee honest men, I
 meane any thing valiant. They may haue two or
 three breaches, but at euerie one they keepe the one
 order. Before the armed men aduance to the assault,
 they place their Musketers as neere to the breach as
 they can, lightlie they make mounts higher than the
 defendants: in those and in trenches before the Ar-
 tillerie they place all their small shot. Before they giue
 an assault, they send sundrie Officers and Souldiers
 armed of Musket proofe and good iudgement to dis-
 couer the breaches: when they giue the assaults, if
 they bee not pell mell with the defendants, their Ca-
 noniers, flankes the breach ouer their heads, both
 from the batterie, &c with their flanking peeces, they
 line their armed men that haue the first poynt with
 Musketers armed of the proofe. At these assaultes
 both sides lightlie shoote at the vilest shot they can in-
 uent, both to pierce Armes and to cut off Pikes, chai-
 ned bullets, Dice of Steele couered with lead; lightlie
 they giue their assaults generall at once, I meane at all
 their breaches & mines, if the ground serue to mine.
 To discourage the defendants, they haue messengers
 of credite on horsebacke, if they can passe, which
 runne from breach to breach crying, courage the
Tertias de la Leige is entered. So at the other breaches
 the like, that *Tertias* of *Lumbardy* or *Naples*, or others
 are entered, when there is no such matter. When
 those that giue the first charge begin to retire or wax
 colde, the great Officers command their seconds to
 the assaultes, finding fault with the rest, telling them,
 it is you fellowes must doo it: with these stratagems
 and wordes, they make the poore Souldiers breake
 their

their neckes at their pleasure. But to speake troth, the *Spanish* discipline is verie gratefull vnto the men of warre; for want of present places to aduaunce their valiant men of vertue according vnto their deserts, they giue them aduantages of payes, with encouraging wordes and assured promises of the first places that fall voide. If a Colonell, Captaine, or any other Officer vnder them, leese his whole Regiment or Companie in Bataile, Assault, Skirmish, or in any other seruice commaunded vnto by their superiours; although the troupe be defeated, those that returne, are sure to remaine in pay, and the Colonell or Captaine haue present Crownes to recomfort his troupe. If the Regiment or Companie be cashed, all the Officers are surlie entroulled in their owne payes they had before. A cashed Colonell, Captaine, or Officer, will neuer take baser charge than they had before, but will serue priuatlie, vntill occasion presents to aduaunce them vnto the places they had before. As they are bound to followe the warres, where they receiue their reliefes; so haue they libertie to followe whom they list, vnles they bee commanded to the contrarie: the greatest part will followe the Cornet royall, some the Generall of the Horsemen, others the high Marshall, others the Master of the Campe, as they be affected and minded. Likewise the cashed Souldiers are placed in their former payes, vnder other Colonells. None of these cashed Officers are bound vnto any ductie, saving fighting; I meane to guard or watch; but the most part will doo it orderlie, better than the bound men, to shewe example vnto others; perswading themselves he that excels his fellowes, is soonest aduanced.

aduanced. Their vsage hath beene such, that I mer-
uaile all professions in *Spain* desires not to bee Soul-
diers. *Charles* the fift being before *Metz* in *Lorraine*,
his Armie being in miserie and extreame sicknesse,
his Souldiers would openlie raile on him, especiallie
his Spanish would call him the sonne of the madwo-
man, with all the vile words they could deuise, yet he
would not heare them, but threw Crownes amongst
them, saying to his nobilitie; harken these knaues, yet
let me call the worst by his name, hee will not refuse
to doo any thing for mee, though it cost him his life.
Also the Duke of *Alua*, when the Burghmasters of
Holland presented a petition vnto him of the disor-
der of the Spaniards; amongst other foolish articles,
they shewed him how they wold haue their napkins
changed twice at a meale. Hee answered, you must
think, al those which came with me, wer not broght
vp amongst Burghers. To say troth, God helpe that
man of warre, that hath all his deeds and words con-
strued to the worst, considering what casualties there
are in warres aboue all other places. Often choler al-
trett honest mindes, to day rich, to morrowe poore;
now happie, anone unhappie. Although their disci-
pline in martiall actions be most famous, and worthy
to bee followed of all others; notwithstanding their
gouernment is so vile and tyrannous, that no people
is able to abide it, vnles they be too base minded. For
example, the Castilian of *Ganne*, hauing occasion to
execute 3. or 4. offenders: to terrifie the multitude, he
did it openlie in the market place; by chaunce a scaf-
fold set downe, at the which there grew a great noise
and rumor: sodainlie without more adoo, the Casti-

lian drew his sword, crying *Alerta* to his Souldiers. The soldiers most saugely discharged a taleu of hangubusaides on the poore people; with shot & sword they killed and hurt aboute an hundred. Complaint being made vnto the Duke, *D'alua* their Gouvernour his answere was, he was sorie the fault was done without desert, notwithstanding hee punished no bodie: thinking it a good meanes to terrifie a mutinous popular (as he termed them). Another time, the Master of the Camps companie, *Iulian Romero*, being in garrison in the towne of *Macklen*, his *Alfere* beeing in loue with a gentlewoman, could not obtain her loue on a May day, he and his companie armed, came vnto her fathers house vnder the colour of Maying,ooke her away by force: her friends and kinsmen making what stirre they could to saue her; with the disorder of the *Alfere* & Souldiers, diuers were killed and hurt. Complaint being made, no man was executed, but perswasions vnto the parties to take patience, shewing them what an offence it was, to stirr against a flying Ensigne of the King their Lord. The *Alfere* was banished for a few daies, notwithstanding he inioyed his loue, & his fauour with his Gouvernor in a short time. Another time, a Sericant of *Sentia Daulia*, Castilian of *Antwerpe*, rode vpp and downe *Antwerpe* on a footcloth of velvet, mandilion & hose imbrodered with gold letters, the contents of the words in Spanish, *Gasador de los Flaminges*; as much as to say in English, A Scourge for the Flemings: a number complained, but none had redresse. Such is their gouernment in all places wherethey command with citadels, garrisons, fortresses or forces, the least Sericant of

of a Band, being a naturall Spaniard, will seeme to command the greatest man of qualitie of anie other Nation, vntles he command forces himselfe. Let the forces be euer so great, although it be 40 or 50000. and of the butt 20 or 1000 Spaniards, it must be called the Spanish Arme. When they come first out of spaine; either to *Italie*, *Flanders*, or anie other places, they be the simplest *besonios* (as they terme them) that can bee found of any other Nation; the most are appoynted by the Generall, before they enter the Countie, to saue the honor of the Nation. Let them continue any time in pay, the simplest of the will compare in price with any Captaine of other Nations; and diuers calls must be called, Signor of such a place, meaning the next towne or village that he was borne vnto, hauing neither land nor house of his owne. Besides the tyrannous Inquisition is maintained by that Nation, principallie in *spaine* to bridle Princes and Nobilitie, which otherwise haue so great libertie by their ancient customes, that diuers of them owe but small subiection vnto their Kinges for abroad as well as in *spaine*, they make whom they list slaves & prisoners at their pleasures, without triall of Iustice; neither shall the parties knowe, who accused them, nor what is laide to their charge, more than it is the will of the holie Inquisition. With their diuelish Inquisition, they take mens goods at their pleasure. With their Bulls, and other paltrie deuises, poisoning, murder, breaking oathes and promises, may bee pardoned by the Pope. Their religion is such, where they subdue Kingdomes or Counties, either by right, politic, or Armes, if they finde anie of great qualitie that ca-

ries a voge, to command populer or men of warre, let their seruice and deserts be neuer so great, vnles they be sure of them, in such sort to obey all those, that carie their commissions and directions, bee they neuer so basely or vilelie directed, they will be sure to make them away with payson or murther, for iustice can take no place, I meane touching all strangers, sauing their owne Nation.

For example, the Marquis of *Marinian*, after they gaue him advancement, *Charles* the first wrote letters to execute him, which were discovered by the Marquis. Likewise, the Duke of *Bourbon* hauing wonne the battaile of *Pavia*; fearing his greatnesse, *Charles* caused his Armie to routine against him, with other disgraces vnderhand to vndoe him; if the Duke had not taken resolution to sacke *Rome*, to content the men of warre. Also the braue Count *Egmont* with others of his nation, for all their seruice were executed most cruellie by Duke *D'Almeida*; and the Marquis of *Berges* with *Montenrie* poysoned in *Spain*, onlie to bring to passe their determination against the *Netherlanders*. Also *Marke Antonis Colona*, whose house and himselfe, followed alwaies the house of *Austria*, being Vice Roy of *Naples*, reputed and feared for the greatest Captaine in *Italy*, was sent for into *Spain*; and before he could speake with the King, he was poysoned in his way to the Court. The last day, two or three Noble men *Porteguisers*, taking Armes, made to the Sea coast, hauing discovered Sir *Francis Drakes* Fleete; the *Spanis* perceiuing their greatnes, executed one Count, and poysoned the other; although some of them were the men that fought

sought to bring them into the Countrie, and most assured them. Looke also to their proceedings with *Naples* and *Millain*, the wrongs to *Francis Foreze*, *Ferdinando* of *Aragon*, with diuers other the like actions. This discipline and gouernment doe I knowe by good experience, for I serued vnder the Ensignes of the *M. del Campo Iulian Romero* 22. moneths, & *Mondragon* 18. moneths, with the domestiques of the braue *Don Iohn de Austria* eight moneths, alwaies in action. As I said before their discipline must be good for good Chiefes makes good Souldiers.

The least of thirtie Commaunders they had alwaies amongst them, were sufficient to commaund 10000. Souldiers. A Campe continuallie maintained in action, is like an Vniuersitie continuallie in exercises, when famous Schollers dye, as good or better step in their places. Especially in Armies, where there be euerie day newe inuentions, stratagems of warres, change of weapons, munition, and all sort of engins newlie inuented, and corrected dailie.

Some may aske me, as I did *Philip de Comines* in reading his booke, where he speakes much to the praise of *Lewis* the xj. but nothing how he quited his Duke of *Bourgonde*: true it is, at the defeat of *Harlam*, Colonell *Morgan* and his Regiment were discharged from the Prince of *Oranges* seruice, my selfe being one: arriuing in *England*, the said Colonel with a number of others, were employed into *Ireland*, At that instant the Prince of *Condé* was newlie escaped out of *France* into *Germanie*. I hauing nothing to do, hearing the saide Prince ment to returne into *France* with an Armie, my selfe and foure other compa-

nions, resolved to imploye our seruice with that Prince: being in *Germanie* with small purses, finding the Prince not able to march in sixe moneths, hauing no meanes to liue, wee returned for *England*, passing through *Lier* in *Brabant*, we were brought before the Master of the Campe *Julian Romero*, who entertained mee with such courtesie, that I remained with him. Thus did I enter into the *Spaniards* warres, and doo think it no disgrace for a poore Gentleman that liues by warres, to serue any estate that is in league with his owne.

To prooue Launtiers more seruiceable than men at Armes, considering the numbers that doo duetie:

THe difference betwixt the men at Armes, companies of Ordinances, as they teatme them, and the Launtiers, called by the strangers. Light Horsemen, by vs Demilances. I must confesse a companie of men at Armes, to bee the most honorablest priuate charge that a man may haue in the Warres, principallie because these charges are giuen vnto Princes, Nobilitie, or men of great qualities in the warres. To euerie seuerall Companie belongeth one Ensigne, one Guydon, and one Corner: the Ensigne ouer the men at Armes, the Guydon ouer the Archers, the Corner ouer the Light Horsemen. Considering the number of hands to come to fight, and to doo duetie, I perswade my selfe the greatest warriors thinke the Launtiers more profitable and more seruiceable: my reasons are these: A man at Armes ought to haue five horses, for euerie horse hee receiues

ceiues as much pay as a Launtier : commonlie the men of Armes makes no conuoyes that belongs vnto an Armie, the most of them are men of qualitie, (as we tearme men of warre) either gentle or calshed Officers, wherefore they are fauoured for their skoutes, guards and watches. If they be commaunded to any of these duties, out of their five horses, it is much if they send three, commonlie one and two : halfe of them keepes but foure horses, the most three, the rest is loaden with baggage, perhaps lame iades, sufficient with curtesie to passe the Musters, being trimmed vp with helpe of their witnesses, how they were hurt in seruice, and deuises. Lightlie they are not commaunded to march, vnlesse the Armie dislodges : if they do, Cornets of Launtiers and Hargulatiers are commaunded with them. The men of Armes neuer breake their soft paces, vnlesse they charge or retire, the others often are commaunded to great marches, to doo exploytes, Causalgade, (as the strangers tearme it) besides, they must skoute, disquer, with all duties that belongs vnto an Armie, either in lodging or march, and fights often, when the men of Armes see no Enemies : when they doo fight, lightlie, it is a battaile, then the Launtiers receiue and giue the first blowes. The first charge being well conducted, and directed, tryes the most of the fortune of a daies seruice, 100. men at Armes are as chargeable as 500. Launtiers, and do not the dutie, neither in fights nor guards as halfe so manie. Touching the harbd, (I meane the arming of their horses) I thinke it to little purpose, seeing all squadrons of Pikes be lined with Musketiers or Caluieriers ; the lesser of both peareth any arming that
horses

horses vse to carrie. In stead of Maces the Launtiers
 may carrie one Pistoll, the which is lighter and farre
 more terrible, had wee thrice the force wee haue in
 these daies. True it is, it is necessarie, for the shooke of
 a horse to weare a little Cuisset to couer the knee, so
 ought all the Launtiers to be. We know it by expe-
 rience; let a horseman bee armed, the forepart of his
 curaces of a light pistoll prooffe, his head peece the
 like, two lames of his pouldrons the like, two or
 three lames of his tases of the like prooffe, the rest I
 meane his tases, cuisses, pouldrons, vambraces, and
 gauntlets, bee also so light as you can deuise. With
 one pistoll these kinde of arming shall be found hea-
 uie for the most men, to carrie all day long, and too
 heauie for the most horses to carrie tenne houres to-
 gether, and to doo any seruice: As I said before, the
 Launtiers are as well mounted for one horse a peece,
 if he haue not two, vnles he be too base minded, and
 the warres verie bare. Besides, all Launtiers receiue e-
 uerie man his owne pay, & haue nothing to do with
 Master, nor anie bodie, sauing his Officers, that com-
 mands him to doo his duetie in the warres. Where-
 fore I perswade my selfe, they maintaine these Ordi-
 nances, as they tearme them, chieflie (as I said before)
 to keepe the auncient customes, fearing in breaking
 that order, diuers of their great men would grudge:
 by reason, all or the most part of these companies be-
 long vnto them. For example our Band of horsemen
 Pensioners, I did accompt them the fairest Band of
 Ordinance in *Europe* for the number, because all the
 men at Armes are Gentlemen of qualitie: wherefore
 I doo value this Band better, than twice as manie of
 anie

anie other, let them be of what Nation soeuer. I may speake it by good experience, out of this Band there may be pickt 15. or 20. sufficient to answere so many at all deedes of armes, let it be chosen out of anie Armie, be it neuer so great: considering their charges in payes, expences in victuals, munition, and their liberties for duties; I mean to conuoy, guard, & to watch, so many priuate Launtiers, as this faire Band musters in al of horses, vnder their Ensign, or Guydon, would excell them; my reason is, as I said before, because e-uerie Launtier is a Master, and receiues his own pay.

*To prooue Hargulatiers more seruiceable than
Speare men, tearmed by vs, Light Horsmen.*

THE difference betwixt our Northerne Speares, Light Horsmen we tearme them; and the Light Horsmen tearmed by the strangers Hargulatiers, as much to say Hargabushes or Petronels on horseback. Touching the mounting and arming of these hargulatiers, I shewed you before, the seruice of all Light horsmen, consists chiefly in marching of great marches, (Caualgades the strangers terme it) I meane, to surprise Companies a farre off in their lodgings, or marches; likewise to defeat conuoyes, & to conduct conuoyes, as much to say, direct it to spoyle necessaries that come to furnish their enemies, & to conduct necessaries to furnish their own campe or seruice. Also to scout and discouer, to spare the armed men, I meane the Launtiers, & the other horsmen; likewise both to conduct & spoile forragers, with the like seruices. They be neuer commanded to do any exploits

on men of warre, without beeing accompanied with Launtiers, or armed Pistolers; I meane Curaces on horsebacke. Diuers march with swords without pistoll or launce, especiallie the Frenchmen. For these seruices it is necessarie to haue in armies or troupes, for euerie 500. Launtiers or armed Curaces, 100. of these kinde of light horse: from that rate to the greatest nūbers. If horsmen be directed to assaile troupes at their lodgings, either in villages, streights, or fields, where it requires too great a march for footemen to keepe companie with the horsmen, without doubt these hargulutiers are farre better than the spearmen; my reasons are these; when the horsmen approach the enimie, if it be in a village, lightly they must passe through barriers & narrow streights, bard with waggon, both of victualls, and of their men of warre, where commonlie the Enemie keepes guardes and watch. If the passage be such, either in entering a village or straight, that horsmen cannot find place to enter & to charge, these hargulutiers light on foot, & do no lesse dutie than foote hargabushiers. If the enimie be lodged either too strongly or to manie, for the assailants to do anie good on their quarter, (as ye must think, a 1000. strongly lodged in a village or straight, with good guard & order, are worth 2000. without, let them be of one valure & conduct) then the assailant will addresse an ambush perhaps, in a passage or narrow straight short of the Enemies quarter, where he will also cause all or the most of those Hergulutiers to light, then place & hide them in such sort, that 100. shot will spoile and defend ten times more than themselues, vnles the enimies bring shot to displace them,

them, if they doo, the Ambush may dislodge, if hee thinkes the partie vnequall; the which he could not, were his Hargulatiers Hargabushers without horses, being ingaged to fight. I confesse also the Hargulatiers farre better than the spearmen for this seruice; if troups of armed curaces, launtiers, or others, chance to meete by fortune with the like enemies in a champion, the Hargulatiers viarmed march on both sides of their squadrons, or squadron, like wings of shot about a squadron of pikes; vtill the launtiers or curaces charge, diuers of their Hargulatiers march skirmishing before the squadrons, like forelorne men after the Almaine phrase; when the squadrons charge, they flye on both sides to their fellowes. They place their armed hargulatiers behinde the squadrons; they execute more than the Launtiers, after the Launtiers break into the enemies squadrons: for the armed hargulatiers ought to be as well mounted, and armed for curace & easke, sauing their beaues, as the launtiers; the most of them, as I shewed you before carrieth a pistoll, besides his caluer or petronell. Let it bee for what seruice Captaines can deuise, these hargulatiers are better than our sort of speare men that we tearme Light Horsmen. I perswade my selfe, that al the warriors in *Europe*, sauing our selues & the Scots will bee found to bee of my minde. I am sure the Earle of *Essex*, Generall *Norris*, the Lord *Willoughbie*, Sir *William Russell*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, with the most of all that serued against the great Captaines, I mean the Prince of *Parma* and his followers, will say and confesse as I doo. For example, the famous *Monsieur de la Noue*, commanding chiefe of the warres vnder the Prince

of *Orange* and the States in *Flanders*, had 3. Cornets of these spearmen, all *Scotts*: he finding little seruice with these kinde of arming and mounting, changed them vnto *Launtiers* and *Hergulutiers*; the which afterwards prooued to bee seruiceable, and as braue bands as anie other vnder his charge: especiallie the Company of the valiant *Seaton*. True it is, braue men will shew themselves valiant with any kinde of weapons, all manner of waies: but the best sort of arming and mounting is the more profitable, & the more seruiceable. Although our two Nations (I meane English and Scottish) may compare, and in my opinion doo excell all the rest of the world in value and strength: notwithstanding, neither of both our Nations can compare with the Strangers for their motting and arming, vnlesse we resolute to be *Launtiers*, *Pistolers*, and *Hergulutiers*, as I shewed before.

Our Discipline is to haue 1000. Spearmen, and some 200. *Launtiers*, from that rate to the greatest numbers, which ought to be 1000. *Launtiers* & 200. Spearmen. Likewise, from that rate to the greatest and those 200. ought to be *Hargulutiers*, I knowe no reason but 2000. *Launtiers*, 2000. *Pistolers*, 1000. *Hargulutiers*, should not master 20000. Spearmen on horsebacke. Likewise from that rate to the lesser numbers; you must thinke the reason was that our Kings of *England* and *Scotland* fought alwaies or the most part on foote, because their whole trust was on the footmen, and that al strangers mastred them with horsemen: Assure our selues let vs keepe their discipline with horsemen, none shall master vs number to number, although they were more.

Let

Let vs not erre in our auncient customes, although our famous Kings *Henrie* the fift, *Edward* the third, and King *Henrie* the eight, were the most worthiest warriets that our nation euer had: notwithstanding you may be assured, had they knowne the terrour of Muskets, Caliuers and Pistols, they would haue vsed the lesse Bowes, Speares and Bills: as the actions of these famous Kings shewes their Captaines to be the most expert. Likewise, we must confesse, *Alexander*, *Cesar*, *Scipio*, and *Haniball*, to be the worthiest and famousst warriets that euer were: notwithstanding assure your selfe had they knowne *Arillerie*, they would neuer haue battered Townes with Rammes, nor haue conquered Countreies so easilie, had they been fortified as *Germanie*, *France*, and the *Low Countreies*, with others, haue been since their daies. Although the ground of auncient discipline is the most worthiest and the most famous, notwithstanding by reason of Fortifications, Stratagems, Legins, arming with Munition, the discipline is greatlie altered; the which we must follow, and be directed as it is now: otherwise we shall repeat it too late.

The difference betwixt Launtiers and

Pistolars.

TRue it is, as *Monsieur de la Nove* saith, a Squadron of *Butter* (meaning Pistolars) ought to beate a Squadron of Launtiers. It were a great follie of me, either to denie his reasons or deeds; the little experience I got was from him, and from such others as himselfe. Touching *Monsieur de la Nove*, he

is knowne to bee one of the worthiest and famous
 warriors, that *Europe* bred in his daies, I do perswade
 my selfe, a Squadron of Pistolers ought to encounter
 so many Launtiers, if they should enter into the Squa-
 drons of Launtiers, as *Monsieur de la Noue* saith.
 Without doubt the Pistoll discharged hard by, well
 charged with iudgement, murders more than the
 Launce: out of a hundred pistolers, twentie nor
 scarce tenne at the most doe neither charge pistoll,
 nor enter a Squadron as they should, but commonlie
 and lightly alwaies they discharge their pistols, eight
 and fiftie score off, and so wheele about; at which
 turnes the Launtiers charge them in the sides, be they
 well conducted, if they should enter as *Monsieur de la
 Noue* speakes. The Launtiers haue or ought to haue
 one pistoll at the least: touching their arming and
 mounting, they ought to be rather better than worse.
 The Captaines or Capitaine that charges either with
 troupses or troupe, cares not much whether the com-
 panies breake their Launces or not, but desires them
 to enter resolute and to keepe close together. If they
 bee well conducted, their Leaders commaund more
 than halfe of them to carrie their swords or pistols
 in the bridle hand, rather than faile to vse the sword
 and pistoll, and quit their Launces; but they will be
 sure to place the best of the Launtiers in the fore-
 front. Lightlie of euerie hundred, fiftie nor twentie
 know how to breake: being well broken, with care
 of the goodnes of the staffe and head, the blowe of
 the Launce is little lesse in valour vnto the pistoll; the
 charge of the Launtiers is terrible and resolute, being
 in carier to breake, the enemies perceiues their reso-
 lution

lution is to enter, and not to wheele about like vnto the pistolers, seldome or neuer at all shall you finde pistolers charge or enter a squadron, either horse or foot on the spurres like vnto the Launtiers; but softly on a trot or soft pace, perswading themselves, as it is true, their pistols giue as great blowes, without the force of the horses. Considering the resolute charge done with the might of their horses, the Launtiers are more terrible and make a farre fairer shew, either in Muster or Battaille: for example, the *Almaines*, during the time they carried Launces, carried a farre greater reputation, than they doo now being pistolers, named *Ruffens*. The most Chiefes or Souldiers of accompt are armed at the prooue of the pistoll. If the Leaders command their troupes to spoyle horses, the Launces are more sure, for diuers pistols faile to go off; if they do, they must be charged with discretion; being ouercharged, it shakes in a mans hand, so that often it touches neither man nor horse. If the charge be too little, it pierceth nothing to speak of. True it is, being pickt and chosen, the pistolers murther more, would they do as *Monsieur de la Noue* directs them. But it hath bin seldome or neuer heard that Launtiers gaue place vnto *Ruffens*; but I was often in their companie when they ranne away, three from one Launtier both in great troupes and small. True it is, the great Captaine the Admirall *Charillion*, chose often to fight, and would haue diuers of the most of his horsemen to bee armed, with one pistoll and a good Curtilace: he had great reason, for the most of his followers on horsback were Gentlemen of qualitie, or resolute Souldiers that fought for the Religion.

Religion! Diuers of the Gentlemen were in quarrels
for their houses, or for their particular reputation: but
all in generall, were resolute valiant faithfull men of
warre, that fought either for religion or reputation,
to maintaine their wordes after the olde Romaine
fashion. Being such men, no weapons comes amisse:
for constancie and true valour, ouerthrowes all poli-
cie, being in Armes readie to fight without delayes.
Besides, the nature of the Frenchmé is such, that they
will grudge to carrie any Armes, but such as please
themselves: vnto the which their Leaders were faine
to agree, partlie against their wills, fearing otherwise
to offend their humours, knowing it lay in them to
followe whome they listed, especiallie their Realme
beeing diuided into factions, beeing all vnited, their
Kings were faine to hire *Switzers* and *Almaines* for
their battailes on foote, I meane armed Pikes, which
is the bodie of all battailes.

*To procure Musketers the best small shot that
euer were inuented.*

THE difference betwixt the Muskets and any o-
ther peeces that are vsed. If it bee in a battaile,
howsoeuer the ground or place falles out in Tren-
ches, either assailing or defending Townes, Forts, or
Fortresses, or in defending or assailing streights, or
passages, whether it bee by night or day, in my iudge-
ment fise hundred Muskets are better than 1000.
Caliners, or any other such shot, and are to be valued
from that rate vnto the greatest numbers. My reasons
are thus, the Musket spoyles horse or man thirtie
score

score off, if the powder bee any thing good, and the bearer of any iudgement. If armed men giue the charge, few or any carrie Armes of the prooffe of the Musket, being deliuered within ten or twelue score. If any great troupes of horle or foote, offers to force them with multitude of smaller shot, they may discharge foure, fise or sixe smal bullets being deliuered in volley, the which pearceth al they strike, vnles the enimie be heauilie armed, the which are not vnlesle it be some 100. of a 1000. at the most of either horle or foote. By that reckoning 100. Muskets are to bee valued vnto 200. Caliuers or more: the Caliuers may say they will discharge two shot for one, but cannot denie; but one Musket shot doth more hurt than two Caliuers shot, farre or nere & better cheape: although the Musket spend a pound of powder in 8. or 12. shot, and the other smaller shootes twentie and thirtie of a pound. Considering the wages and expences of two to one, the Musket is better cheape and farre more seruiceable. Some thinke the Musket cannot march farre in a day, or night, or continue long without rest, by reason of their weight, nor skirmish so nimble nor so often, by reason of their length, weight, and sore recoyling. Armed men are heauier loaden than the Musketiers, and more combersome in cariage: lighlie no great troupe marches ten miles without resting, although it bee but a little at enerie stand and nere the Enemie: the Musketiers are suffered to quit their weight, leauing their Muskets in their rests: the armed men will not be suffered to disarm themselves in their march, let them stand neuer so often, if they bee within fise houres march of an En-

mie any thing equall of either horse or foote: by that reason they haue a little aduantage. Fewe Captaines will force any great troupe of footmen to march aboue 15. miles, without resting: if the Enemie bee equall and in hazard to fight, although it be 20. miles, both armed men and Musketers will not sticke to march, if their Leaders haue any credite with them, and discretion to furnish their troupes with victualls and necessaries that belongs vnto such a march.

Touching their often discharging, nimblenes and profite, I answered before. For recoyling there is no hurt, if they be streight stocked after the *Spanish* manner. For their weight and sure shooting, the Muskets haue aduantage on all the other small shot, by reason they shoote in their rests: true it is, were they stocked crooked after the *French* manner to be discharged on the breast, fewe or none could abide their recoyling, by reason of their great charges of powder: but being discharged from the shoulder after the *Spanish* manner, with the thumbe betwixt the stocke and the face, there is neither daunger nor hurt, if the shooter haue any discretion; especiallie not to ouerload their peeces, and take heede that the bullets ioyne close to the powder. Few seruices of importāce are executed in the field without armed mē; & where armed men will march, the Musketers are ill conducted, vnlesse they doo the like, let it bee neuer so farre. The overthrowes of all Battailles and great fights are giuen within two miles, the most in halfe a mile: for that space, were it further, the Musketers march as their Leaders needs to wish them.

Touching light skirmishes, vnles it bee to some purpose,

purpose, none vseth them, vnles it bee rawe men or light headed, that delights to heare the peeeces cracke: as I said before, the most seruice consists either to defend or assaile passages, by water, or by streights, or to assaile Townes, Forts, Fortresses, or whatsoeuer seruice you can inuent: if it be done on great troupes, the Muskietiers are the terriblest shot and most profitable that euer was deuised. The *Spaniards* doo vse them most, and findes their seruice and terrour such, that I perswade my selfe shortlie, all or the most of their small shot will be Muskietiers. True it is, I doo think it necessarie to haue of 1000. shot, 200. Caliuers from that rate to the greater number, and such shot for this purpose, when occasion presents to make great marches (Caualgades the strangers calls it) to giue Camisadoes on troupes that are lodged a farre off, to surprise Townes, Fortresses or passages that are simplic mand, and negligentlie guarded, or to lye in Ambush a farre off, to cut off conuoyes, passengers, and such seruices. These lighter shot are necessarie to march great marches with horsemen for these purposes, the which are often taken behind the horsemen for expedition of great marches, to doo executions vnlooked for.

To prooue the Pike the most honorable weapon carried by Footmen.

THe Pike is the most honorable weapon that is carried by Footmen; the Pike is the strength of all Battailles. I knowe no reason but 2000. Pikes, 1000. Muskietiers, should not retire ten miles,

although it were all champion grounds, from 3000. horsemen mounted and armed, as Captaines can deuise. The Pike is the chiefeſt weapon to defend, and to enter a breach, although diuers guards nere a place aſſieged are furniſhed onlie with ſhot and ſhort weapons, as armed Holberts, Targets, & ſuch weapons, by reaſon their Trenches are narrowe and deepe to couer them from the defendants ſhot, in which trenches the Pikes haue no conuenient place to fight: notwithstanding about their batteries, and in diuers places neere vnto theſe guards, they make large Cordigards, where they place their Enſignes in ſome and in all ſtrong guards of Pikes; meaning thereby to put their ſtrength & reſt chieflie on that weapon: wherefore the experimented *Spaniards* commands all their chiefe men on foote to carrie the Pike.

What number of ſhort weapons there ought to be amongſt one thouſand armed men, from that rate to the greater number.

I Perſwade my ſelfe there ought to be amongſt one thouſand Pikes, 200. ſhort weapons, as Holberts or Bills; but the Bills muſt bee of good ſtuſſe, not like our common browne Bills, which are lightlie for the moſt part all yron, with a little ſteele or none at all; but they ought to bee made of good yron and ſteele, with long ſtrong pikes at the leaſt of 12. inches long, armed with yron to the midds of the ſtaffe, like the Holberts: for example, like vnto thoſe which the Earle of *Leiceſter*, and Sir *William Pelham* had in the Low Countries for their guards: being made thus,

no doubt but it is a necessarie weapon to guard Ensignes in the field, Trenches or Townes, and a good weapon to execute, but no better than the Halberd. Because the Frenchmen make their Halberds with long neckt pikes, and of naughtie stuffe like our common browne bills, diuers of our Nation condemnes the halberds: but let the halberds be of good stuffe and stronglie made, after the Millaine fashion, with large heads to cut, and broad strong pikes both to cut & to thrust, then without doubt the halberd is nothing behinde the bill for all manner of seruice, & armes a souldier fairer than the bill. Both bills & halberds ought to haue corslets, with light Millain murrians; the foreparts ought to be of reasonable prooffe, I meane of the prooffe of the Caluier, discharged 10. or 12. score of: so ought the Pikes also to haue the foreparts of their corslets of the like prooffe, 15. or 20. of enerie 100. from that rate vnto the greatest numbers. I know no reason, that 10000. armed men ought to ask aboute 200. targeters of the prooffe: those weapons are very combersom, they are best to arme men to discouer breaches, or for the defendants; to discouer trenches, or the enemies woorkes, and for to couer shot that skirmishes in streights: their weights are such, that few men wil endure to carrie them (if they be of good prooffe) one houre, I perswade my selfe, the best arming of targeters, is to haue the corslets of reasonable prooffe, and the targets light, so the bearers may the better and nimbler assaile, and fight the longer in defending.

*To prooue Bow-men the worst shot used in
these daies.*

Touching bow-men, I perswade my selfe 500. musketers are more seruiciable than 1500. bow men; from that rate to the greater numbers in al manner of seruices my reasons are thus: among 5000 bowmen, you shall not finde 1000. good Archers, I meane to shoot strong shootes; let them be in the field 3. or 4. months, hardlie finde of 5000. scarce 500. able to make anie strong shootes. In defending or assailing anie trenches, lightly they must discouer themselues to make faire shootes; where the others shot spoyle them, by reason they discouer nothing of themselues vnlesse it be a little through small holes. Few or none doo anie great hurt 12. or 14. score off; they are not to be compared vnto the other shootes to line battels, or to march, either in the wings of anie battailes, or before, as we terme the from the Almaine phraze fore-lorne hope. Diuers will say, they are good to spoyle the horsmen; I doo confesse it, if the horsmen come within their shootes, and cannot charge them by reason of their trenches or guards of pikes. Lightly whe the horsmen approach within 12. score, the trumpets sound the charge; if it be on shot, that lies wher they cannot charge, they are ill conducted that leade anie great troupe of horsmen to charge trenches. Commonlie the Corners or Guydons charge one another if there be anie of both sides: if not, few horsmen wel conducted, wil charge either trenches, or battailes of footmen, vnles they see a faire entrie, or the footmen begin

begin to shake, as good Captains wil soone perceiue:
 If they do charge, they will be sure to be well accom-
 panied with smal shot, which soone terrifies bowmē,
 especiallie the musketers: besides the horsemen are
 all wel armed, in such sort that bowmen cannot hurt
 the men; let them say what they list, when the men
 are sure the arrowes will not pierce them, they wil be
 the valianter: although the horses be killed, and the
 masters seruice lost for that day, notwithstanding they
 think it better to be taken prisoner six times, than kil-
 led once: beside, the munition that belongs vnto bow
 men, are not so commonly found in all places, especi-
 ally arrowes: as powder is vnto the other shot. Also
 time and ill weather weakeneth the bowes as well as
 the men. In our ancient wars, our enemies vsed crof-
 bowes, and such shoots; few, or anie at all had the vse
 of long bowes as we had; wherefore none could cō-
 pare with vs for shot: but God forbid we should trie
 our bowes with their muskets and caliuers, without
 the like shot to answer them. I doo not doubt but all,
 honorable and others, which haue serued in the Low
 countreyes, will say as I doo: notwithstanding some
 will contrarie it, althogh they neuer saw the true tri-
 al of any of those weapons belonging either to horse
 or foote, alledging antiquitie without other reasons,
 saying, wee carried armes before they were borne.
 Little doo they thinke, how *Caesar* ended all his great
 actions in lesse than 12. yeares: by their reckoning
 none could prooue great Capitaines that followed
 him, which began and ended in that time, as Duke
D'alua said, the longer expeted, the more perfect. True
 it is, long experience requires age, age without expe-
 rience

rience requires small discipline. Therefore we are deceived, to iudge men expert because they carried armes 40.yeres, and neuer in action 3.yeres, during their liues counting all together.

Some will say, what discipline could there be seen in the actions of the *Netherlanders* and *France*, counting them ciuil warres: touching the *Netherlanders*, the world doth knowe their warres dured 23.yeares, without any peace, putting altogether not 15.mōths. The warres of *France* dured 30.yeres: true it is they had often peace, and a long time together: wherefore it cannot be compared vnto the other; notwithstanding, in these actions were imployed all the brauest Nations of *Europe*, their greatest Captains, Engineers, and Counsellors for warre.

What fortifications are best to withstand a royall batterie; and to prooue a wet diech better than a drie.

Some will condemne mee for my strange names of fortifications, they ought to pardon me: for my part, I knowe no other names than are giuen by the strangers, because there are fewe or none at all in our language. If a man should call a *Casamate* a slaughter house, the multitude would thinke I speak of a place to kill biefes, and such matters; if I should call a *Caulere* a mount, diuers would aske, what to doo? to place windmills or artillerie; if I should call a *Rampier* a wall, they would thinke I lied, vnlesse it were made of lime & stone. therefore as the most languages call *London* and *Bristen* as we do, so is it best for

for vs to call their inuentions as they doo: touching Muskets, Calimers and Hargubuziers; with other things, we doo agree with their names. The best drie ditch, is to haue the ditch 100. paces broad, and fiftie foote deepe, foure Casamats on euery side of the Bulwarks, the lowest to flanke the bottome of the ditch from the one side vnto the other; the second likewise within ten foote, with broad Casamats; that the Artillerie may be raised high behind, to beate a long the ditches; as nigh to the bottome as can be deuised; the third & fourth Casamats likewise within tenne foote one of another, to flanke the ditch in euerie part as lowe as may be deuised; also the fourth Casamat must flanke the Counterskarfe; in euerie part the Counterskarfe ought to be three score broad, rising from the foote to the head; the head ought to couer the ditch & rampier as high as the fourth Casamat: you cannot bestowe too much cost on the Counterskarfe, for before the Enemie possesse the Counterskarfe, he cannot batter to take away any of the flanks: wherefore it ought to be made with all the arte that can be deuised with lime and stone, from the foote to the head, especiallie for fortie paces nere vnto the head. It were not amis, although it hath bin neuer seene before, to haue mines like vantes, ouerthwart to the middes of the Counterskarfe; which mines ought to be flanked with two lowe Casamats out of the head of the Bulwarks, likewise from Bulwarke to Bulwarke in that sort: my reason is, when the assailant lodgeth in the Counterskarfe, they must be couered with Trenches, the which will be hardlie done by reason of these mines. The mines cannot be

hurtfull, let the Enimie finde them, they cannot lodge
 in them, wee knowe it by good experience: he that
 possesseth a mine, first hauing an entrie that cannot
 bee cut off, hath treble aduantage, though the mine
 were sodeinlie made, much more being made artifi-
 cially with time and care, hauing a Casamat to flanke
 it. The Counterscarfe ought to haue parapets cut in
 them foure foote deepe, euerie trench to flanke one
 another, from the head to the foote of the Counter-
 scarfe, I meane place to lodge what troupes pleaseth
 the defendants to guard it, with diuers places to sallie
 both horse and foote at their pleasures. Euerie Bul-
 wark ought to haue two sallies, one for horse and
 foote, the other a little secret Sallie: the Bulwarkes
 ought to flank one another within tenne score, eue-
 rie Curche ought to haue two Cavaliers to comand
 the field within their shoores, as well as the Coun-
 terscarfes: let all this be finished as Captaines and In-
 giners can deuise. Notwithstanding, no drie ditch
 can bee compared for strength vnto a wet ditch: my
 reason is thus, where water may be drawne vnto the
 ditch of the Rampier, likewise it may be drawne vnto
 the Counterscarfe ditch: halfe or the best part of the
 Fortifications is lost, when the Counterscarfe is
 possest, being possest, the assailants with their Tren-
 ches on wheeles, push on with strong poles with the
 forehand men, the which may bee made of the prooue
 of a field peece, with thofe and with wooll sakes,
 gabions, sand bagges, faggots, & such deuises, as they
 had before *sluce*, they will soone place their batterie:
 after dismounting the Cavaliers and highest Casa-
 mats. Also they will deface the Counterscarfe, enter
 the

the ditch with mines in diuers places, in time make all the Counterscarfe an easie entrie in the ditch, and keepe their guards in the sides where the flanks cannot annoy them: that being done, they will sone lay batterie to the other Casamats before they batter: hauing an easie entrie into the ditch, the defendants dare not sally, by reason the assailants artillerie beates all their high flanks & parapets; in such sort, that none dares shew themselves. Let the defendants enter the ditch, the assailants will enter also; being pel mell, the casamats kills their own aswel as their enemies. Being thus (no doubt) in short time the assailants will lodge in the rampier let it be neuer so thick, what trenches within the Capitaines and Engioners can deuise, vnlesse they haue new fortifications like vnto those, I named before: in time the Assailant will lodge his Batterie on the Rampiers, as they did at *Mastricht*, & in short time fight with equall hands with the defendants to their vndooing. Therefore a drie ditch cannot be compared vnto a wet. If there can bee made a wet deepe broad ditch at the foot of the counterscarfe, where the water may not be taken away, I know no reason that the defendants should loose their Counterscarfe, being well manned. If the water may bee drawne out of both the ditches of rampier and counterscarfe, yet is the wet ditches better than the drie. Fewe good Engineers giues counsaile to make a wet ditch artificially, without Casamates vnder water, as lowe as reason perswades them the water may be taken from them being let out; there remains in some trenches, water that cannot be voyded, being cleane taken away the Casamats flanks all one.

As I said before, flanks cannot be takē away, without possessing the counterscarfe, neither can a broad ditch be filde without great murders against reason, without dismounting the flanks. Some will say, the drie ditch is better, alledging that any armie may the better succour the place assieged, and that the defendants may the better sally out. Touching the succouring of the Assieged, it is well knowne, all Armies are victualled from hand to mouth; he that leades an armie to letie a siege, and cannot finde a place to lodge his armie, within 3. houres march of the others, where he shalbe assured to force his enemies to fight within 10. daies, leaue his siege, or famish, conducts his troupes verie ill. None besiegeth anie place, but intrencheth himselfe and troupes in such sort, that 5000. will defend trenches, against thrice their number: wherfore the succours are ill conducted to force trenches, and may fight better cheape. Touching the Sallies of the besieged, if the fortification be such, as I named before, it ought to haue in it for euerie Bulwarke a ponton, I meane a bridge ioyned close together with yron Engins, like vnto those of the Citadell of *Amwerpe*. Those Pontons are iust the breadth of the ditch, hatched fast with yron hookes vnto the Counterscarfe, made so broad, and so strong, that artillerie may passe beside horse & foote. These pontons serue a wet ditch for salying, as well as any sallies that belongs vnto a drie ditch: both wet and drie, when the counterscarfe is possest, letseth their salying, if the Seigers be good Captaines. All Batteries ought to be guarded with strong trenches, and all quarters ought to be stronglie entrenched, as I said before, especial-

lie, the assailants hauing intelligence of succours, that being furnisht, the saluing of the assaged is their own confusion. It is dangerous to haue Bastiles from the rampier like vnto *Mastricht*, *Vtricht*, & other places. Some counts these bastiles bulwarkes, I thinke all bulwarkes ought to be gardall round about: others counts them spurres or raelins; whether they bee spurres, bastiles, raelins or bulwarks, they be dangerous vnles they ioyne vnto the rampier, or to be furnisht during a sledge with strong guards. Commonlie they are not guarded, vnles the enimie lodgeth against them, because the defendants perswade themselves, the Enemie dares not lodge in them, by reason they be open vnto the surteine and cauileres like the Counterscarfes. These Bastiles haue much earth. Let the Enemie enter one of them, within two houres he couers himself in the earth; nothing made with hands that can be battered, but will be made assaultable. Is there a bredth in one of them, & the enimie can beate the entry, I meane the bridge, betwixt the curren and it, their succours is cut off. Besides the defendants shall not find much ground within them, to retrench themselves against the cannon; & where the cannon plaies no defendant dare shew himselfe, some will say, these bastiles may haue counterscarfes as I named before; I doo confesse it, but they are so farre from the rampier, that neither the rampier, his Counterscarfe, nor scarce caualere can flanke; wherefore without doubt these bastiles that are not ioined vnto the rampier, are very dangerous, and not to be compared vnto the others ioyning. True it is, men, victuals and munition ought to defend Trenches against an Armie, I do

confesse it, a little Armie against a great, I meane halfe so manie. But no Fortifications made with mens hands, can be kept continuallie against a royall Armie, without succours, if it can be battered; nor against a small Armie, without men, victualls, and munition; wanting one of the three, the best Fortresse is lost, you must think the assailants hauing the field, and meanes to reenforce their troupes as they list, the losse of 100. vnto the defendants is more, than 2000. vnto the assailants. But let the defendants or assailants do their duties to the vttermost in any kind of seruices, vnlesse it pleaseth their masters or superiours to grace their deedes, their well doing will be turned to nought and their vertues, to vices. Wherefore all men of warre ought to pray to hazard their liues in the sight of their Princes or estates, then likelie they will confesse no traffique so deare as liues, especially being in action with equall enemies. It is hard to please the most masters, & vnpossible to content the rude multitude: the least worne wil mooue, hauing any life being troden vppon: for mine owne part I don confesse to be one of the least in respect of thousands, not so base but euer I carried a minde rather to be buried dead than alive.

I speake this for the wrongs done vnto my selfe & companions for the defence of the towne of *Sluce*: true it is, those that serues many, serues no bodie; I meane, they shall finde none that will confesse to be their masters; especially when they should be rewarded for their seruice, but the multitude will be readie to disgrace their seruants, thinking by such meanes to pay them their debts, or at the least sufficient rewards

wards to be reconciled vnto them and pardoned for their misconstrued thoughts. Wherefore I would wish all men of warre, and they can to be in al strange Princes or estates debts, rather than they in yours: if your masters be giuen to any machiuell humours, the debts that should pay you, will hire the diuers others: are you in their debts, you are sure not to be wronged, thinking your seruice to come paid for. Although our masters the States be for the most part honest and vertuous personages; notwithstanding looke into their actions, you shall finde a number of Captaines wronged besides our selues: they are pardie to be borne withal. Sometimes great Captaines are so ambitious, that they will deface their inferiours deedes: therefore there can be no great fault in the States, nor any such, when we wrong one another: otherwise time and fortune might make inferiours Competitors with the great ones. Sometimes fortune frownes on the greatest Captaines, in such sort, that they cannot or will not performe that the world looks they should do, then likelie had they rather burie their instruments and inferiours, rather than be touched themselves with the least disgrace. Therefore you cannot blame the poore Soldier to desire the eye of his master, when he hazardeth his life. Subiects are vassals vnto Princes and States, and not vnto the most Generalls: although I neuer knewe any, notwithstanding, it is well known ambitious Generalls wronged often their masters; being in those humors, they will be sure to wrong their inferiours, vnlesse they serue their turnes. Touching our wrongs, I impute it to no bodie but vnto our own fortunes, as the Spaniards

ards said vnto Charles the 5. *Adeunda falsa la diecha, non apreueicha la diligencia.* Touching *Sluse*, I do protest by the faith of a Souldier, what I write is troth. As nigh as I can remember, we kept the Towne about 60. daies: diuers thinke it no time, because *Harlam*, *Mastricht*, and others, were kept longer; little do they thinke how those places were furnisht with all necessaries, especially, the lesfer of both had in the at the least 6000. hands to fight and to work. Let vs be rightly iudged; I will proue that *Bouennene* was the furiously siege that was in the Lowe Countries, since Duke *D'Aluas* arriual vntil this houre; the which began and ended in lesse than 20. daies; notwithstanding, there was more Captaines and Souldiers, spoiled by sword & bullet at that siege, thā at *Harlam*, which dured ten months. Experimented Captaines wil confesse, the furie of all breaches are tried in few houres, and the furie of artillerie preuented without sodaine attempts. We were not in *Sluse* 1600. fighting, work men, and all; we had to keepe (counting the 2. forts) about two miles & a halfe. It is well knowne, before we entred, the Towne lost one fort. If we shewed any valour in our entrie, let Sir *Henric Palmer*, and his Seamen, with them of *Zealand* iudge; the danger was not so little, but of the vessels that caried vs in, 5. were taken the next tide in comming out. The third tide, Sir *Charles Blunt* offered fiftie pounds (besides the commandement his Masters and Mariners receiued at his imbarcking) to carrie vs our necessaries from Sir *William Russell*, then Lord Gouverneur of *Vlissing*, who indeed was the occasion of our entrie, resolution, and quicke dispatch; who sent with vs a good quantitie
of

of victuals and munition: and to say truth, without
his earriest dispatches wee had not entred; then the
world knowes the Towne had been lost without
blowes; as a number of others were in those Coun-
tries farre better than *Sluce*: the best sort doth know
had I and my companions marchanded our liues, as
traffickers doo their ware, wee had no neede to haue
entred *Sluce*; for our direction was but to *Ostend*: we
were battered with thirtie Cannons and eight Cut-
uerings on *S. Jacobs* eeue: from three of the clocke in
the morning vntill five in the after noone; they shot
aboue 4000 Cannon shot. By the Dukes owne con-
fession he neuer saw so furious a batterie in one daye
we were made faultable aboue 200. and 40 paces be-
twixt five of the clocke and leauen: we were aboue
five times at the push of the pike for our breach,
where wee spoyled the enemies in great numbers,
who perceiving our trenches within our owne waile the
breach, quited their sallies: afterwards wee kept the
Towne 18. daies, the Enemy being lodged in our
porte, rampier, and breach, aboue 300. paces, in the
which time the Enemy passed through the port sixe
paces to beate our Trenches within: wee kept our
Fort vntill wee were made faultable more than our
Troupes could guard, vnlesse wee would quite the
Towne: being mined, we countermined them, in the
which wee fought hourelie for the space of 9. daies
with Sword, Target and Pistols: at our breach, port,
and rampier of the Towne wee fought daylie with
pikes, short weapons and stones, besides our shot for
the said space of 18. daies. Touching our sallies, let the
Enemy testifie.

The Duke of Parma being come, asked me which
 was Baskerville, standing before him. I shewed him:
 who embraced him, turning towards his Nobilitie,
 he said, there serves no Prince in Europe a braver man.
 Most true it is, at one fallie he had the point with an
 hundred corslets of the best sort, who charged and
 made to runne, eight Spanish Ensignes of the *Terrin*
Veche, and hurt their Master *del Campo*. True it is, he
 was seconded with a number of others: but himselfe
 principallie knowne by prisoners, & his great plume
 of feathers. Also Sir Francis Vere marked for his red
 mandilion, who stood alwaies in the head of the ar-
 med men at the assaults of the Fort and Towne: be-
 ing twise hurt. I and other his friends requested him
 to retire, he answered, he had rather be kild ten times
 at a breach, than once in a house. Captaine Hart most
 valiantlie swamme in and out to shewe our Generall
 and States our wants and dangers: the world dooth
 knowe what pickes there was betwixt them at that
 instant, such that none can denie but a full resolution
 was taken not to enter in by water. The world doth
 knowe our Armie by land retired at midnight from
Blanchenborough to *Ostend*: let envie and malice speake
 what they list, troath may bee blamed but neuer sha-
 med: wee were lost men but for our owne wits and
 resolution: our powder was al spent so farre, that we
 had not to maintaine halfe a daies fight: the Enemies
 had gotten into our Rampier so farre, that their shot
 flanked vs into our trenches: for 18. nights wee lay al-
 waies Officers and all at our breach, where wee ate
 our meate continuallie: we had not left ynbroken of
 twentie field peeces with their Artillerie, four: wee

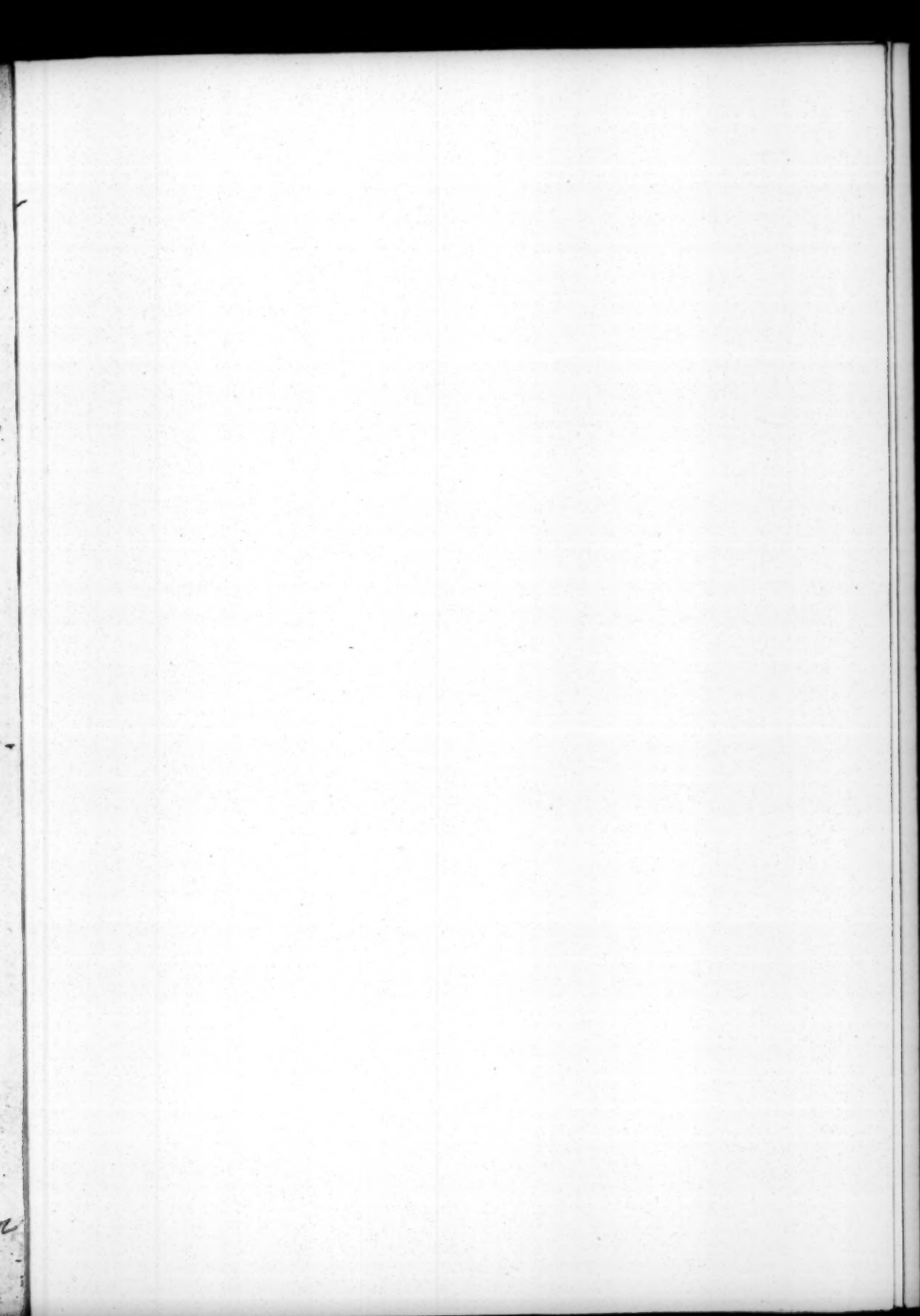
endured in Towne and Fort, seuenteeue thousand
 foure hundred and aboue of Cannon shot. Where
 malicious tongues speak of our assaults, I protest we
 endured one assault in the Fort at Breaches & Myne,
 from nine of the clocke in the morning, vntill two in
 the afternoone, where the Braue Marquis of *Renti*
 was hurt, the great Captaine *Monsieur de la Mote* lost
 his right arme, *Monsieur de Strippeny*, Colonell of
 the *Burgoniens* slaine, with diuers Captaines and Of-
 ficers: beside by their own report at that assault they
 had slaine, aboue seuen hundred & as manie hurt: we
 had hurt and slaine at that assault aboue one hundred
 and fiftie, where Colonell *Huntley*, Sir *Edmond Vdall*,
 Sir *John Bate*, Captaine *Ferdinando Gorge*, Master
Selinger, Captaine *Nicholas Baskerville*, with diuers
 other Gentlemen and Officers shewed themselves
 most valiantlie, both at that assault and at al other ser-
 uices, during the said Sledge. Captaine *Frauncis A-*
lene swamme in with Captaine *Hale* after the breach
 was made: during his time, none shewed greater va-
 lure. Trulie, all the *Wallons* with their Souldiers shew-
 ed themselves constant, resolute and valiant, especi-
 allye the braue Captaines, *Messures de Medkerke* and
Eragien. Wee were but foure English Bands, neere
 two hundred strong a peece, by reason we diuided a-
 mongst them some two hundred and fiftie Musketi-
 ers, who through the meanes of the Gouverneur of
Ydsing, came with vs from his Garrison, from *Beng-*
hen, and *Ostende*. There were manie Lieutenants, En-
 signes, & sericants, aduenturers, beside those soldiers:
 the better halfe of our men wer slaine: for of 1600. En-
 glish, *Wallons*, & *Flemings*, we carried not out 700.

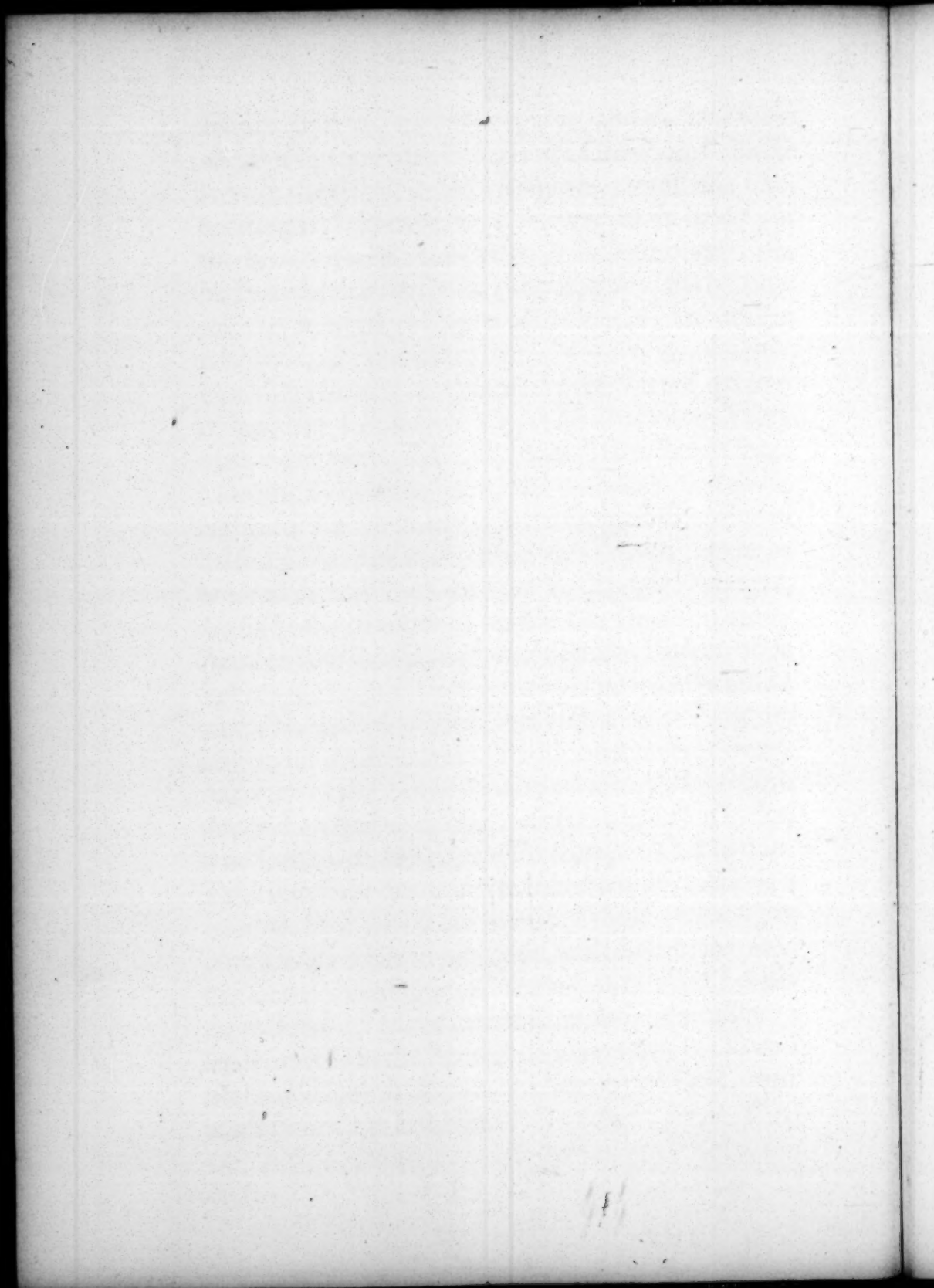
In respect of our losses, our Captaines asked paye for the whole numbers; wherefore our masters the States and others, would not confesse our losses to be so great. From the first houre of our entrie, vntill our coming out, none came to vs but those which swam. The Duke of *Parma* himself asked me before a great number, what were our losses? I answered him with the troth as neere as I could: himselfe, and diuers other assured vs, that he lost before *Sluce* fine and fortie Captaines besides other Chiefes; and more Souldiours than he lost at *Nase*, *Berke*, *Grane*, and *Vendel-lo*. What wordes I spake vnto the Englishmen that followed him, my companions can witness. Some others (besides the Duke and my selfe) knowes, if I lifted, and promise kept, I might haue had a far greater number of Pistolls, than euer I had of Angells. True it is, some Princes, looke treason, but neuer like the traytours; did they looke them, they should neuer looke that; for the least thought of such matters. Where it pleased some to speake of two Irish Greyhounds; which the Duke requested me to send vnto him: returning to *Middlebourn*, where I found the Earle our General, he gaue me two faire Greyhounds, commanding me not to faile to send them vnto the Duke: and finding Master *Steenens*, sometime seruant vnto the most noble Sir *Phillip Sidney*, returning vnto the Duke, on my request he presented the dogges, for the which it pleased the Duke to send me a faire Spanish horse with a rich saddle. The saying is true, it is better for some to steale a horse than others to looke on; notwithstanding, that I gaue nothing nor receiued nothing without the consent of my Generall, it

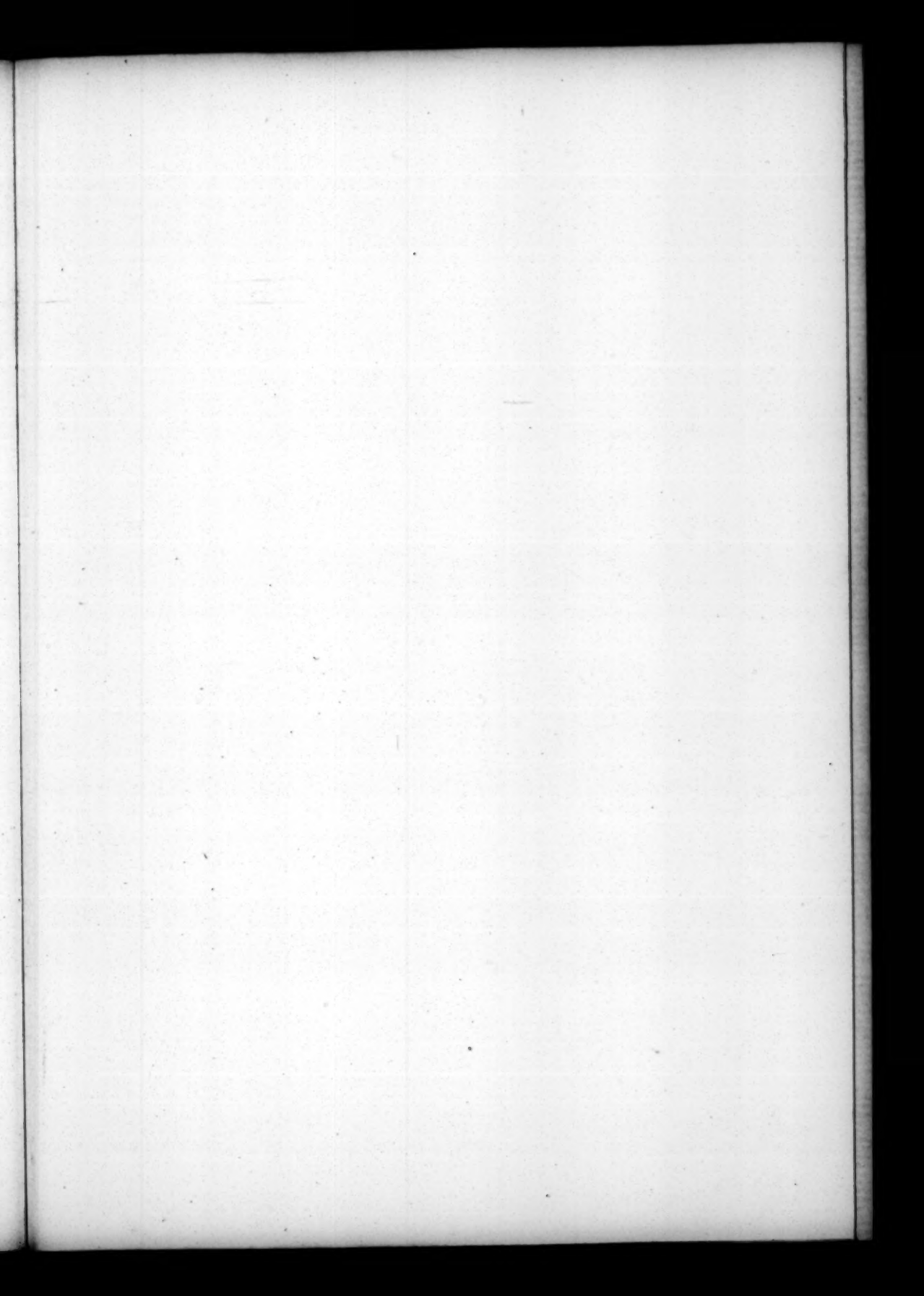
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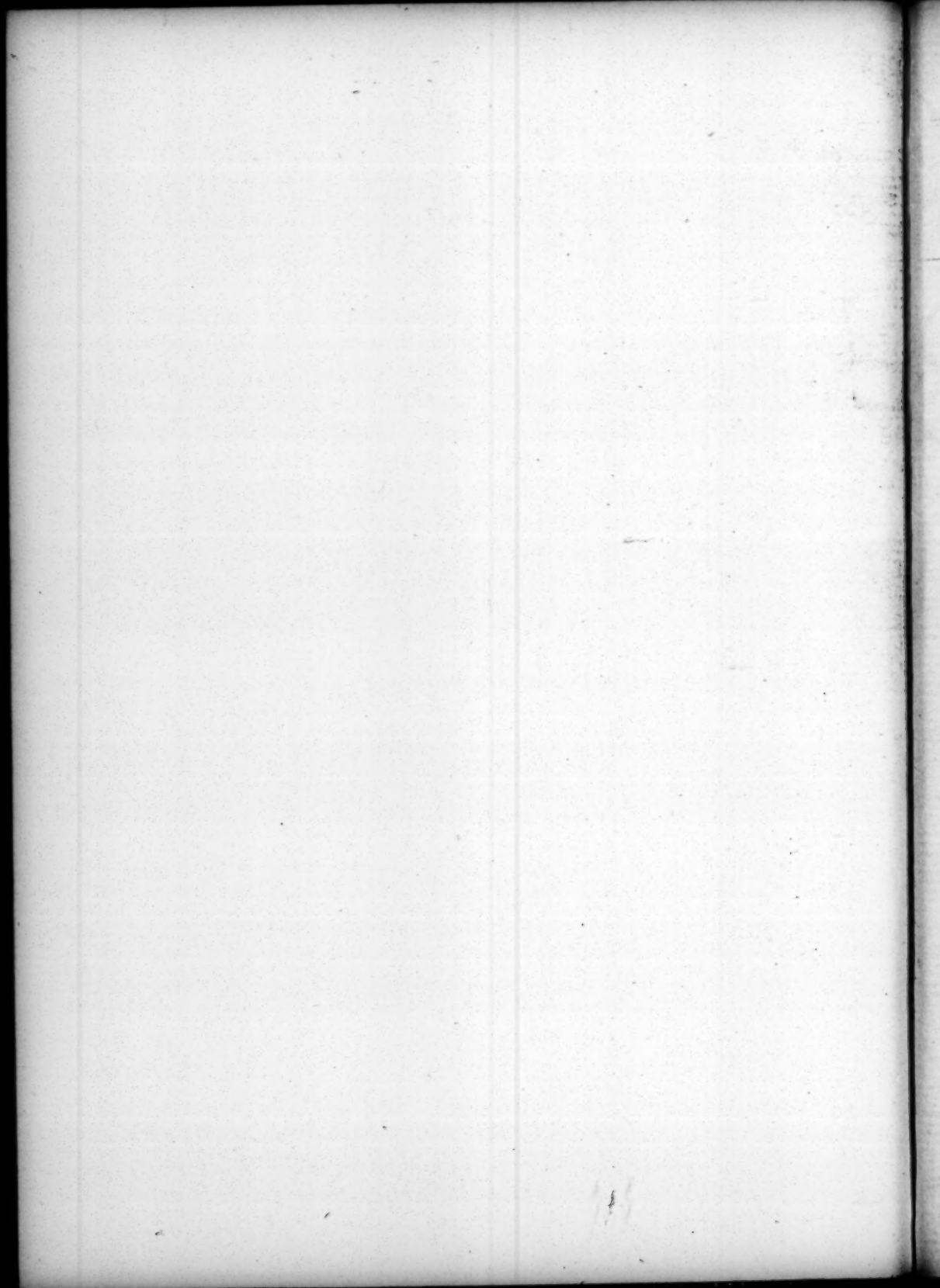
was enuied without more occasion. A faire horse
with rich furniture is easilie discovered by day light,
where bagges or rich bribes can hardlie bee scene, if
the parties hath wit to couer it, the which the *Spani-
ard* presents often to many, vnknowne to their ma-
sters or estates, els their credites had not troubled *Eu-
rope* as it doth; nor the proceedings against them so
slowlie as it is in some places. Some said also, if they
had been in such dangers in *France*, wherefore gaue the
Duke of *Parma* such large composition vnto them? I
knowe no reason but this, sixe daies before wee gaue
ouer the Towne, all the Captaines and Officers met
in counsell: havinge scene our dangers, and some per-
ceiuinge the heate of our succours, we assigned our
Articles of composition, swore all to haue them
granted vnto vs or to dye, and to burne the Towne
and Castle, for escape that could through the drow-
ned land: the copie of these Articles with other let-
ters we sent vnto the Earle our Generall and Estates;
the which came into the Enemies hands, by reason
the messenger was slaine in swimming by their
boates so palliade on the riuer. This is well knowne
vnto all our companions, for the Marquis of *Renis*
out of his French tolde it me openlie before all our
guards at the breach, and that *Owen* a Welsh Gentle-
man had much ado to put my soule hand in Italian
to the Duke. Also we made a fallie, where wee lost
two Officers, who showed them our resolution,
the which we maintained beinge face to face with the
Duke in our parties, and returned vnto him into
the Towne, thinking he would not agree vnto some
of the Articles: but his prudence or his counsell per-

I persuaded him to send for vs againe, and to signe them
 all. But I protest on the faith of a Christian, I thinke
 so will the rest of my companions protest the like,
 for my part I knowe not how wee might haue kept
 the Towne twelve houres with the losse of our liues
 had wee been all desperate, if it had pleased the God-
 odies to attempt vs: but most true it is, rather than
 take any base conditions, some & many would haue
 risked our liues in that place. I protest to all manner
 of qualities I write not this with a meaning to con-
 demne any particular nor general that should haue
 succoured vs, nor to robbe the least defendand of his
 right: for I can testify for the simplest Captaine of
 halfe a dozen that was within the Towne, three or
 foure of them were they knowe so rightly iudged,
 are sufficient to conduct double that Garrison in any
 Armie in this world, and to conduct a greater troope
 halting a while. Some may blame mee because I
 took to hand in writing this history of what more
 larger, and in better order I will doe it at large in my
 discourse of the Netherlanders actions, perhaps both
 that and all number of other matters in better order
 than some perswaded great Personages, I could doe.
 True it is, some are to write, some to speak, others to
 execute. What I want in any of those vertues, my
 blindnes shall witness in others the zeale I beare towards
 my sacred Soueraigne and deare Countrey, if becau-
 se of presents in the meane time, and at waile I pray
 most heartily to the Almighty to preserve her sacred
 heath and Royall estate to the honour of God, and
 confusion of her Enemies. I write thus thinking the Towne, thinking
 of the Articles: but his prudence or his counsell per-









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